SPRING 2010 Volume 2010 • Number 1 • $5.00

THE KEYNOTER

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS CONSERVATORS

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APIC CALENDAR – APRIL-MAY-JUNE & LATER 2010

May 1, 2010 Auburn Mayday Spring Show

United Methodist Church, 99 South St. Auburn, N Y. 8–2. Dinner "Balloons", Friday. More info Bren Price, 27 Brookshire Ct. East Amherst, NY 14051; 716-630-7073, e-mail BPRICESR@AOL.COM

May 7-8, 2010 Michigan Regional

Metropolitan Hotel (across from Detroit Metro Airport) Friday room-hopping, dinner buffet 5:30, auction 7pm Tables $55, 2/$100, 3/$130, 4/$160. Saturday bourse 9-2:30. More info Ken Hosner, 5692 Comstock Ave., Kalamazoo MI 49048. 269-345-5983 or MRBUTTONS@CHARTERMI.NET Hotel (734) 467-8000. Mention APIC for the $89.00 convention room rate.

May 8, 2010 New England Chapter APIC, Spring 2010 show

Saturday, 9-2, V.F.W. Post 1012, 114 Mystic Av, Medford, MA. (I-91 Exit 31) Adm. $2; 1st table $25, $20 each add'l. More info Bob Colt: BOB@BOBCOLT.COM Barry Mushlin BARRYBUTTONS@COMCAST.NET; Bob Colt 617-737-3388 weekdays or 781-729-6066 evenings & weekends.

May 15, 2010 Big Apple Chapter Spring Country Pinback Show

9-3, Titusville United Methodist Church, 7 Church Rd, Titusville NJ. (corner of Route 29): Tables: $35.00. Gen Adm: $3.00. More info: Tony Lee 609-730-9490 e-mail TONY@ADICIO.COM

May 16, 2010 Southern Cal APIC

Sunday May 16th from 10-2 10100 Balboa Blvd, Granada Hills, California. Adm $2 - students free - tables $15 More information Bob Banwart (909) 624-5297 email: BANWART2@CA.RR.COM

Looking ahead:
August 1-7, 2010 The APIC National Convention
Hyatt Regency Hotel, Buffalo, New York

Midwest Regional Indianapolis

Sept. 17-18, 2010 Ramada Inn, E. 21st St. (formerly the Holiday Inn). More information Bob Coup for details at POLBANDWGN@AOL.COM
Ohio Boys Regional is tentatively scheduled for the third weekend of October McKinley Grand Hotel Canton, Ohio.More info: Jack Dixey
DIXEYCITYLIMITS@YAHOO.COM.

Mid-Atlantic Regional

Langhorne, PA Veteran's Day weekend - November 11-13,. Contact Ed Stahl (collectorstuff@msn.com) for tables, Harvey Goldberg (heg1@verizon.net) for auction consignments, and Tony Lee (tony@adicio.com) for exhibits.

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"To Fan the Flames of Discontent"
Industrial Workers of the World

The Battle of Montana • Governors of West Virginia
Planetarians for Obama

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February 2007
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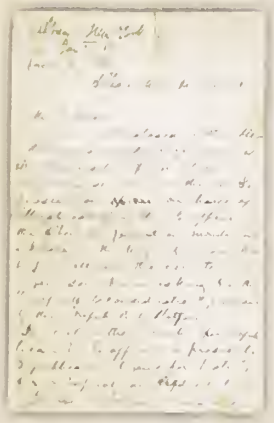
WPU Votes for Women Pin
SOLD! $2,629
February 2007
HA.com/659-65010



Bryan & Kern: One of a Kind 1¼" Jugate
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November 2007
HA.com/672-8041



Rare Oregon Woman's Suffrage Umbrella
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February 2007
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Susan B. Anthony ALS, Dated Jan. 27, 1873
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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT



IWW ISSUE

Dear fellow APIC members and honored guests:

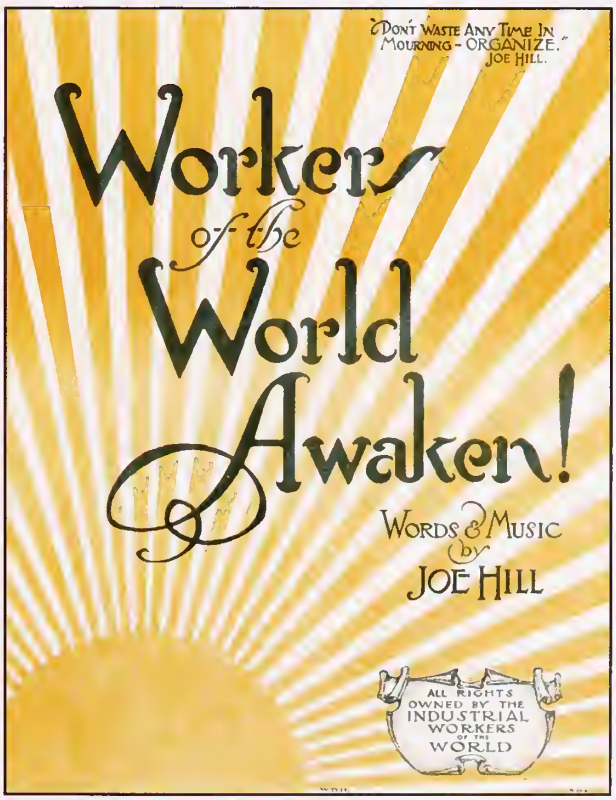
As conservators of our nation's political heritage, we are in a unique position to experience the present while simultaneously understanding the past. Currently, we are bombarded with reports from media pundits, prevaricators and self proclaimed experts who seem to take great joy in reporting the current gridlock and stalemate in Washington between political factions. With all the current DC rancor and bitterness reported in the media, I've yet to hear, see or read of one comparison between the present and the past.

As historians, we realize that what they're reporting is far from unique or new. Our national history provides numerous examples of political conflict between both houses of Congress or infighting amongst political parties, often involving the President. Likewise, the past teaches us that we always endure such times, although our optimism may wane while we're mired in them.

Although we may question the end result of current events, we must never question America's resolve and determination. History proves that time and time again, these best of American attributes rise to the surface. Our decency, humility and love of country always transcend partisan rancor and bickering and unite us as the mighty nation which will endure. How fortunate we are, as students of America's political past, to be able to comprehend the current and compare it to previous events in history. We are truly the keepers of America's political timeline. What a truly glorious responsibility!

Yours in progress,

Brian E. Krapf



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Volume 2010 • Number 1

EDITOR'S MESSAGE



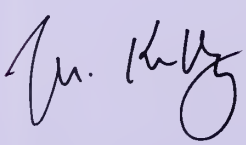
Time is supposed to temper our personalities and bring us more serenity. There is an old saw (that I've seen attributed to Churchill, Clemenceau and Willkie, among others) that "If you are not a socialist in your twenties, you have no heart. If you are still a socialist in your forties, you have no head."

I guess I don't fit that pattern. As a youth, I was an earnest conservative. As the decades have rolled by, I find myself verging on radicalism. Of course, I haven't really changed my views much, but the freedom-oriented conservatism of past days has taken on a decidedly conformist tone, which totally contradicts the rhetoric of freedom still heard on the right.

All of which brings us to the Industrial Workers of the World ("The Wobblies"). Dr. Ed Sullivan's article is a great piece and Ed has found some wonderful items from those dangerous days. This magazine and the APIC as a whole has long advocated for better knowledge of our Republic's history. Most Americans have a fairy-tale sort of perception of our history. Hopefully, we can help to do better.

We have tried to identify the era of each IWW item to the best of our ability but some items can't be placed in an era with certainty.

Last issue we failed to credit Stuart Schneider for several images used from his collection. We are sorry for the oversight, Stuart. Thank you for adding to the *Keynoter* and making it even better!



Michael Kelly

Editor

Features

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NEXT ISSUE-- Recipients of the nation's highest award – the Congressional Medal of Honor – have often found their way into politics, from Teddy Roosevelt to Bob Kerrey. Later issues in the year will focus on Calvin Coolidge and then Winfield Hancock. If you have any unusual items relating to these subjects that you'd like to share with fellow collectors, please send 300 dpi scans to *The Keynoter* at michael.kelly@mcc.edu.

FRONT COVER--Sheet music, the "Rebel Girl," written by Joe Hill, picturing Elizabeth Gurley Flynn an IWW Union organizer and fiery speaker.

CONTRIBUTIONS--The editor wishes to thanks the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Mike Black, Benny Brandvold, Germaine Broussard, John Connors, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, David & Janice Frent, Edmund Sullivan, Heritage Auctions, David Quintin, Richard Walker and Ted Watts.

SUBMISSIONS--*This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks loosing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIG, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Thanks for doing such a superb job on the neat Bryan 16-1 baseball scoreboard piece. William Howard Taft and Walter Johnson would have been proud of the article, as would George Will.

Tom Berg - APIC #8614

Wonderful new issue of the Keynoter. I particularly liked your campaign headquarters' photographs. I used to write for the Lorain Journal in Lorain, Ohio (that's how it's spelled, not the correct French way that you referenced) and I think the Cleveland/Thurman interior might well be the old Antlers Hotel.

Regards,
Margaret (Peggy) Engel - APIC member along with my husband,
Bruce Adams

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To Fan the Flames of Discontent: The Wobblies

By Dr. Edmund B. Sullivan

"To be right when your country is wrong is dangerous."
-Voltaire

The radical labor movement which emerged after the Civil War fought for workers' rights in what was often a hostile and certainly a volatile environment from the 1870s into the early 1920s and sporadically to the eve of the Second World War. For many of these years union membership or even advocating unionization could bring serious retaliation to workers and their families. The earlier period was a time of social and economic paternalism and aggressive industrialization that was defined, as the American author Winston Churchill wrote, "...by gentlemen in evening clothes [who] calmly treated the United States as a melon patch that existed largely for the purpose of being divided up among a limited and favored number of persons."

Implicitly, as steel magnate Andrew Carnegie exemplified in his *Gospel of Wealth*, was the belief that profits gained from factory production would spread wealth throughout the society, thus benefitting employers and workers alike. Competition should be unrestricted and unregulated in order to ensure survival of the fittest, referring to the factory owner and presumably the worker. Large segments of the population agreed with this view of capitalism as distinctively American, thus unionization was seen as a threat to private enterprise and, by extension, to one's job security.

The exploitation of workers by factory owners, included employing children as young as seven and pitifully low wages tied to long working hours. Dangerous equipment and squalid living conditions in company-owned housing were easily ignored due in part to the easy availability of cheap immigrant labor. Thus brutal working and living conditions, indifferent factory owners and escalating workers militancy fueled the "labor wars", beginning generally with railroad strikes in the 1870s and expanding rapidly in the following decades. No section of the country was immune to strikes by coal, iron ore, and silver miners in Minnesota, Arizona, Illinois, Montana, Colorado, Pennsylvania and Kentucky; textile workers in northeast and southern states; lumberjacks and stevedores in California, the South and Northwest, and steelworkers in the mid-Atlantic states. Battles between workers and management-hired police forces (notably the Pinkertons) in these industries led to the states' use of National Guard units, as well as governors and legislative opposition to union demands and illegal strikes leading to harsh prison terms.

Elected officials from mayors to the White House saw protection and sanctity of the established social order as a primary responsibility. The poor status of the national economy from the 1890s through about 1914 penalized workers and the general population alike. Xenophobia, anti--Semitism and racism were widespread. Add the Populist Movement which originated among southern and mid-western farmers in the early 1890s but included a mixed bag alliance of Henry George's single tax proponents, Edward Bellamy's democratic socialists, greenbackers and other reform minded groups. Historians rightly consider these last decades of the 19th century as among the most volatile in American history.



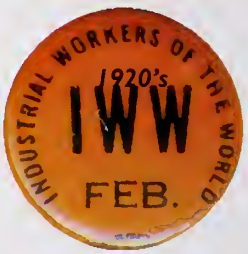
1920s



1930s



1920s



1930s



1930s



Given the times, it seems almost inevitable that the founding of a union, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), would happen. The I.W.W. sought to organize skilled and unskilled racially and ethnically marginalized workers, emphasized overt hostility and voiced a disdainful contempt for capitalism and social systems that tolerated economic injustice.

Virtually everything about the Industrial Workers of the World seems larger than life. While eschewing violence they provoked extreme violence but never were they as dangerous as they made themselves seem. The I.W.W. was not the first radical union to enroll skilled, unskilled and minority workers. Both the short-lived National Labor Union founded in 1869 and the National Colored Labor Union founded by the noted abolitionist Frederick Douglass a year later were early forerunners. And spanning the years between these two unions and the founding of the I.W.W. in 1905 was the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor whose mission, activities and membership, under the charismatic leadership of Terence Powderly, foreshadowed the I.W.W. The K. of L.'s membership peaked at about 750,000 in the late 1880s but thereafter declined into obscurity, unable to compete successfully against the expanding craft-centered American Federation of Labor.

Revolutionaries, minions of Satan, labor atheists, fomenters of class hatred -- no condemnation was too strong for the militant I.W.W.'s many enemies. It was founded by William "Big Bill" Haywood, socialists including Eugene Debs and Daniel DeLeon, the legendary Mary "Mother" Jones and dissident trade unions including the Western Federation of Miners.

The I.W.W. (or "Wobblies", a term said to have originated when a non-English speaking member tried to pronounce "Ws"), sought to enlist workers under the banner of "One Big Union", a term in keeping with the emerging idea of industrial unionism. Wobblies were utterly convinced that capitalism was inherently evil, morally corrupt and the root cause of human misery. Their self deprecating humor saved them from being true believers, humor that is evident in their cartoon strip Mr. Block (read "blockhead"), a gullible worker who actually believes capitalism's promises, and their music (e.g., "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum!"). They had a flair for the dramatic and intense group loyalty.

Unlike other labor unions before or since, the I.W.W. was as much a cultural force as it was a union. It was blessed with gifted speakers, authors, poets, musicians, artists, articulate polemicists and dynamic leaders--all of whom carried their often inflammatory messages the length and breadth of the country, provoking fear and anger at every turn. Beyond the expected polemics, the hundreds of leaflets, pamphlets and broadsides published by the I.W.W. reveal impressive levels of literacy and well reasoned discourse. The subjects indicate how national in scope the I.W.W. was: prostitution, warfare, economic and social exploitation of women and children, economic theories, the women's suffrage and eight hour day movements, history and government, immigration, religious and racial tolerance, to name a few.




THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Of Millington will give a Grand Old Fashioned Party

AT THE MILLINGTON HOUSE,

—ON—

Friday Evening, February 20, '85,

To which they invite all their friends.

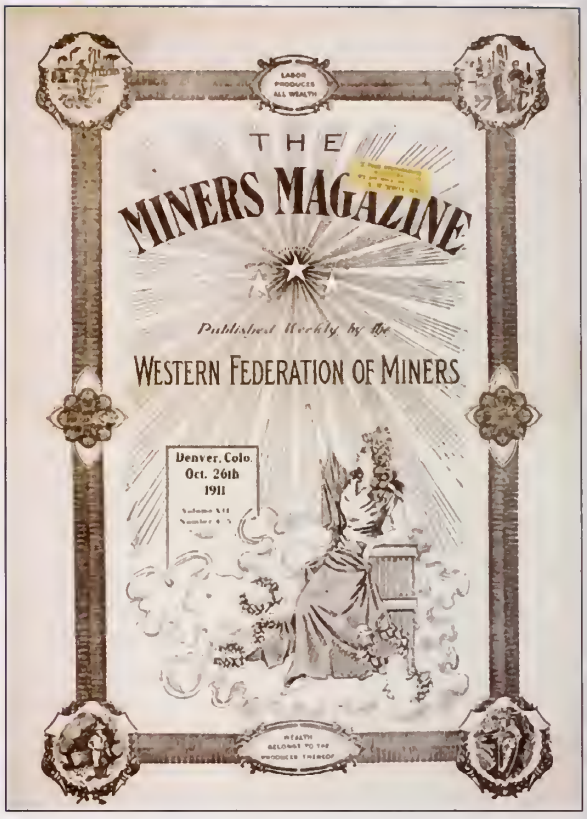
GOOD MUSIC PROVIDED FOR THOSE WISHING TO DANCE.

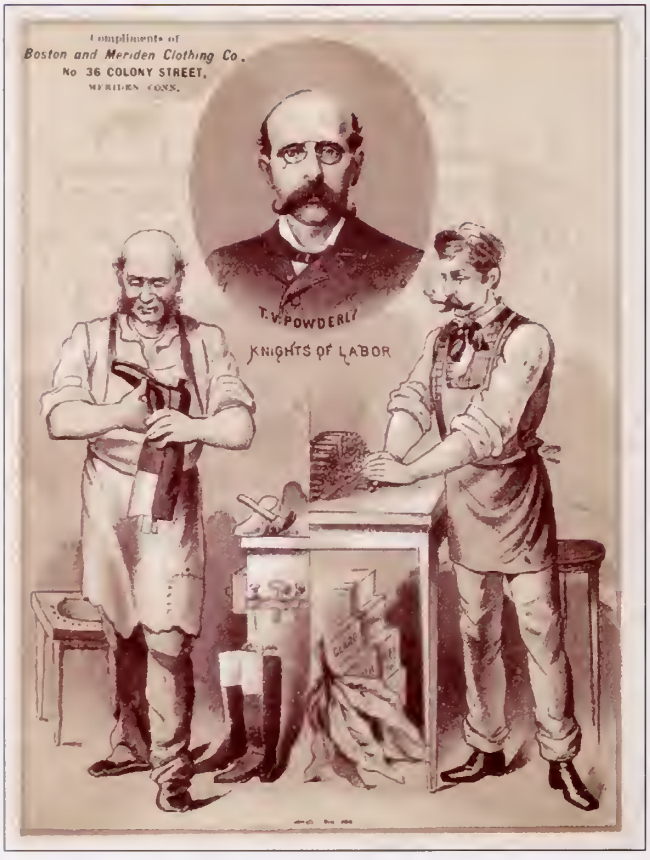
Bill for Supper, 50c. per Couple. "Those who Dance Must Pay the Fiddler."


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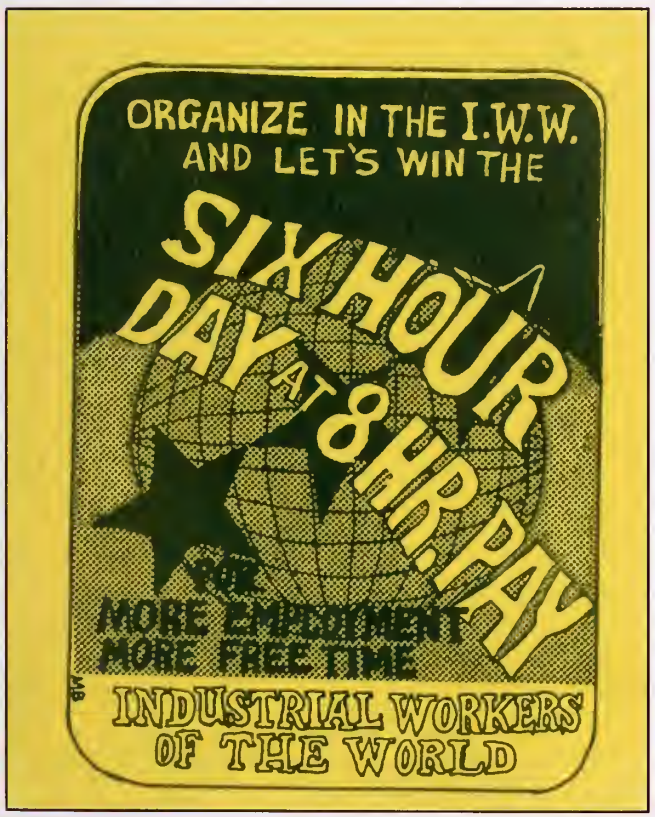
In the Preamble to the I.W.W. Constitution, its founders envisioned their mission quite specifically: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, but the few of the employing class have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and abolish the wage system ...Trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers leading to self defeat in the wage wars ...trade unions aid the employing class to mislead workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers... These conditions can be changed ...It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but to carry on production for the day when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of a new society within the shell of the old."

Here was incendiary language guaranteed to provoke anger and aggressive hostility in the "employing class", but better known to Wobblies simply as "The Boss". This outright demand for worker influence in managing and even ownership of American industries led over the next two decades to some of the most persistent and violent repression of unionization ever to occur in the United States.



Poster 1917

Wobblies saw themselves engaged in a life and death struggle with The Boss. Organizing the unorganized was a fulltime job, a deeply committed goal, which meant living and working with the "stiffs" (i.e., hoboes, itinerant and seasonal laborers, lumberjacks, stevedores and factory workers).



Ralph Chaplin, famed *Wobbly* poet, journalist, artist and author, describes his experiences that were common to many Wobblies. In his autobiography Wobbly, he writes of traveling the country over via railroad box cars, of sharing meals in hobo "jungles", sleeping in decrepit shacks and factory housing-riding the rails from one town to another, speaking on street corners thus inevitably risking the wrath of the local police, merchants and self-appointed patriots/vigilantes. Chaplin was the composer of "Solidarity Forever", now the anthem of the national labor movement.



1930s



1919

Swedish-born Joe Hill (nee Joseph Hillstrom) is an equally important figure in Wobbly history. Known as the Wobbly Troubadour, he was executed by a state of Utah firing squad in 1915 for the trumped-up charge of killing a Salt Lake City policeman. His alleged last words were "Don't mourn, organize!" Those words became the I.W.W.'s recruitment slogan from that time on. His life and death became the subject of several songs, a stage drama and a movie. To this day he is the best known Wobbly folk hero and "martyr". To the I.W.W. every worker who died in battle with the Boss was a martyr.

Impromptu soapbox speeches were an I.W.W. specialty. For Wobblies, the guarantee of the First Amendment mandating freedom of speech and the press, and the right to petition, assemble peacefully and worship freely were fundamental freedoms, Holy Writ, that in those times were more often ignored or treated indifferently by state and federal courts than they are today. Every street corner was a platform and every passer-by was a potential convert. Dozens of communities enacted anti-loitering laws in efforts to reduce or even eliminate Wobbly activity, leading to such absurdities as author Upton Sinclair being arrested for "loitering" on a San Diego street corner while reading the Declaration of Independence (a favorite I.W.W. ploy).

I.W.W. cultural activities were breathtaking in scope: chapter picnics and other socials; dramatic skits, classes in literacy and higher levels of education; a library in every union hall; thousands of pamphlets, posters, cartoons, and lapel buttons; the legendary *Little Red Songbooks* (some editions were subtitled *To Fan the Flames of Discontent*); newspapers with national circulations published in several languages-all revealed an extraordinary variety of talents and deep commitment. Wobblies left us with a vocabulary of terms that are still in use: "Fink" was a strike breaker or informer; a bedroll was a "bindle" and those who carried a bedroll were "bindlestiffs"; "pie in the sky" was a capitalist's promise of a better life for workers; an "idiot stick" was a shovel;" bushwa" was an unenlightened worker who believed capitalists; police were "cops", detectives were "dicks" and a police station was the "can".

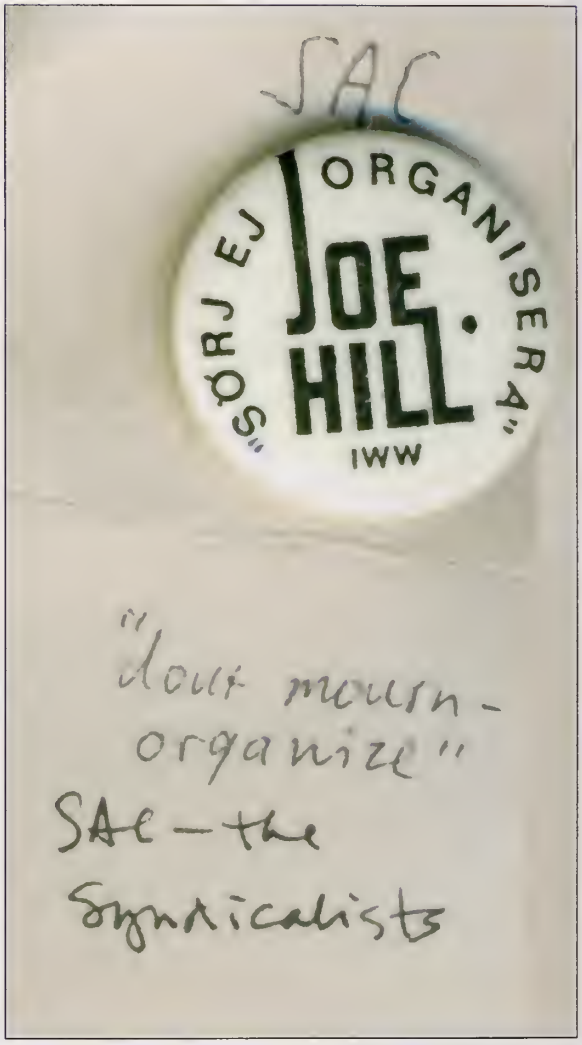
The Industrial Workers of the World, whose history is seen by some supporters as a romantic tragedy, was a provocative chapter in American labor history. Discussing their complete event-packed history is beyond the scope of this article. I will concentrate on just two events, one is perhaps the high point of I.W.W. history, the second is undoubtedly the low point: the Lawrence Massachusetts Bread and Roses strike in 1912 and the intense and unrelenting persecution of Wobblies from all sides during World War I and continuing into the 1920s as victims of the Red Scare.



1916



1970s



1980s



1960s



2000s

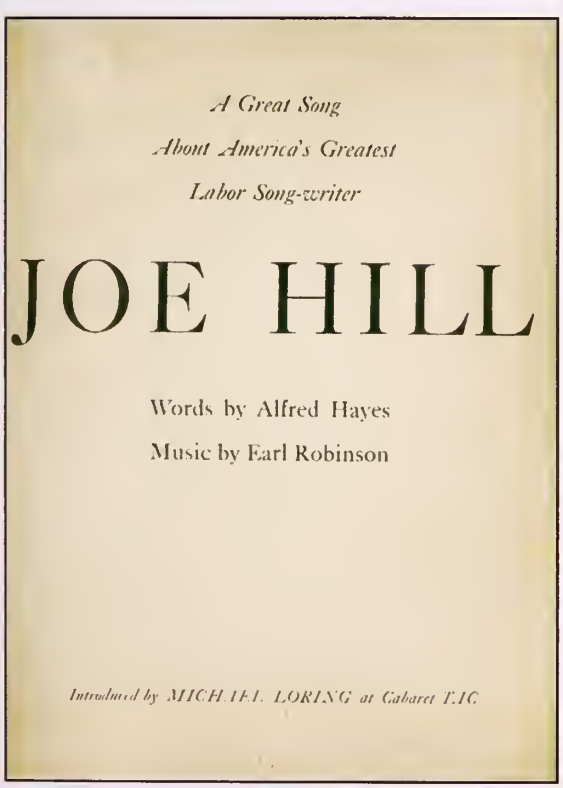
Lawrence, Massachusetts: January to November, 1912

Probably just a tiny fraction of the thousands of motorists who daily travel interstate 495 that spans eastern Massachusetts from Cape Cod to the New Hampshire state line notice the vast complex of multi-story factories that seem almost within shouting distance as they drive past the city of Lawrence. Even fewer are likely to know of the events that happened there during the harsh winter of 1912, events that led to congressional and state investigations, brought in the state militia, was marked by extreme police brutality, led to an historic courtroom trial and became front page news in this country, in Europe and in Australia. These events will always be remembered as the "Bread and Roses" strike, a name that appeared only long after the strike had ended. The Lawrence, Massachusetts strike proved to be the high water mark for the I.W.W. There would be other I.W.W.-led strikes but rarely would the Wobblies achieve the same level of success as they had in Lawrence.



Savage Cossacks attacking strikers Lawrence

Here in this historic mill city beside the Merrimac River, which provided the power and helped Lawrence become one of the world's largest producers of woven textiles, occurred one of the most cataclysmic events in American labor history. On the frigid morning of January 12, 1912 thousands of poorly paid mostly immigrant workers, bone weary and frustrated to the point of desperation with their horrible working conditions, who had opened their pay envelopes a few days earlier only to find salary reductions, spontaneously and collectively shut down their machines and walked off their jobs at the American Woolen Company, the city's largest employer. In the end, nine weeks later, about 28,000 workers from all the city's mills would gain 15%-20% salary increases and a shorter working day. But the I.W.W. would become hated and feared to the point of violence in Lawrence and increasingly across the country.



Lawrence in 1912 was, as New England communities go, a young city with a population of 86,000 packed into seven square miles. The city was founded in 1845 as an industrial center whose existence was defined by diverting the nearby Merrimac River as the power source into a constructed system of auxiliary canals. The population was about 6,000 by 1848 including a sizable number of Irish immigrants who were the targets of virulent Know Nothingism that swept Massachusetts during the 1850s. By the end of the Civil War and during the following decades Lawrence became a prosperous, quintessential mill town. Its products clothed large populations in this country and in Europe (rivaling the British woolen industry). Lawrence had become a magnet for thousands of immigrants and by 1912 the city was "an undigested lump of immigrant laborers" as one historian described it. Mill owners had weathered small earlier strikes and had been oblivious to the Knights of Labor, the Greenback Labor Party and other attempts to unionize workers. Strikes were quickly disposed of and strikers were fired and evicted from company housing. There were always more workers desperate for jobs.

By 1912 Lawrence mill workers were a seething cauldron of anger, hopelessness and despair who were living in foul smelling and rat infested housing. For the workers, men, women and children, there was no bright future in their new country. A local Wobbly (there were a few in Lawrence) sought help from the national leadership and within a few days Joseph "Smiling Joe" Ettor arrived to offer I.W.W. support. In his first speech to the strikers he outlined classic I.W.W. beliefs. He urged unanimity, no small matter in this mill town in which at least fifty eight different languages and dialects were spoken. He counseled patience and the avoidance of violence, noting that "whatever blood is spilled will be workers' blood. You cannot win by fighting with your fists against armed militia", he added, "but you have a weapon they [the mill owners] do not ...the weapon is your labor and with that you can overcome if you stick together". He told the workers that they mattered, that their toil earned millions for the mill owners. Therefore, Lawrence's mills rightfully belonged to them. Very likely most strikers would be happy enough with wage increases, more humane working conditions and clean housing, but they responded excitedly to Ettor's words.



1910s



1910s

In short order William "Big Bill" Haywood arrived, followed by "silver tongued" Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, at twenty-one already an experienced union organizer and street corner agitator whose beauty concealed a steely tough-minded personality. She would later be immortalized in Wobbly Joe Hill's ballad, "Rebel Girl." Last to arrive and completing this quartet was Arturo Giovannitti, intellectual, poet, urbane and courtly in appearance and mannerisms, fluent in several languages and editor of the influential *Il Proletario (The Worker)*. This passionate, articulate and truly formidable foursome, all giants in American radical labor history, gave voice and direction to the strike. Within the week, the Lawrence press and increasingly other New England newspapers began carrying front pages stories, of which Giovannitti's poem addressed to the strikers was an early subject; "Sermon on the Common" (note: "common" in New England refers to publicly owned open space located in the historic center of a community.) set to cadences similar to the Sermon on the Mount:

> There is no destiny that the will of man cannot break.
> There are no chains of iron that other men cannot destroy.
> There is nothing that the power of your arms,
> Lighted by the power of your mind, cannot transform, recast and remake.
> Arise then, ye men of the plow and the hammer...

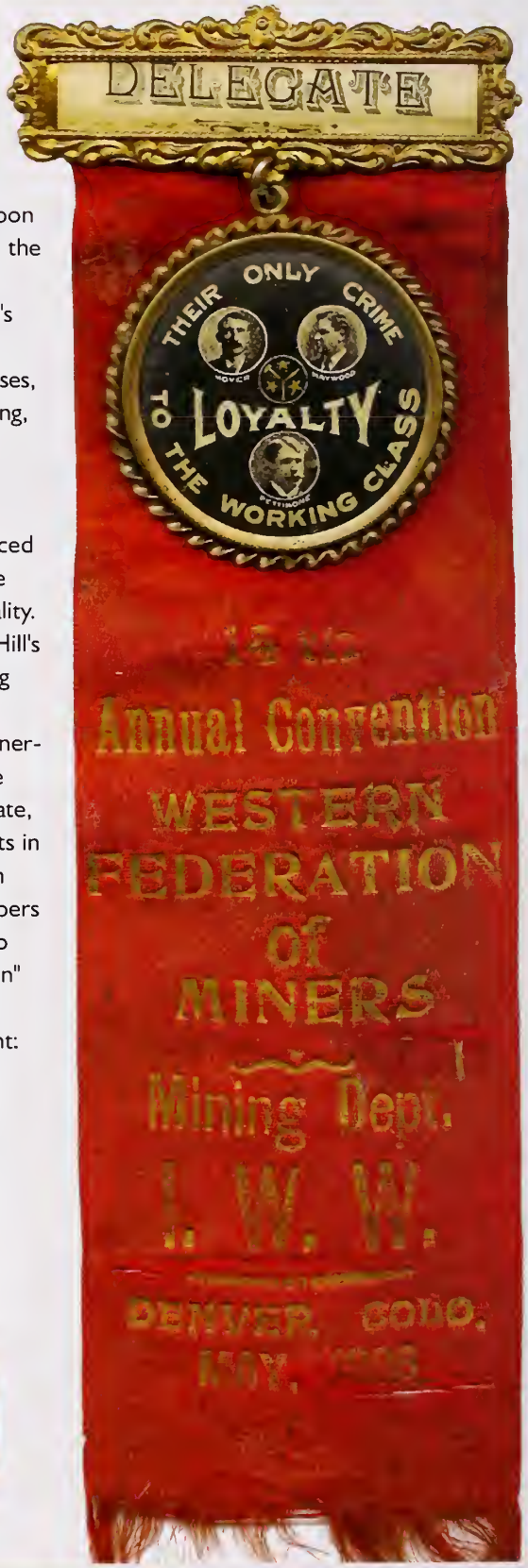


1914



1916







1916



1916



1917



1930s



1930s

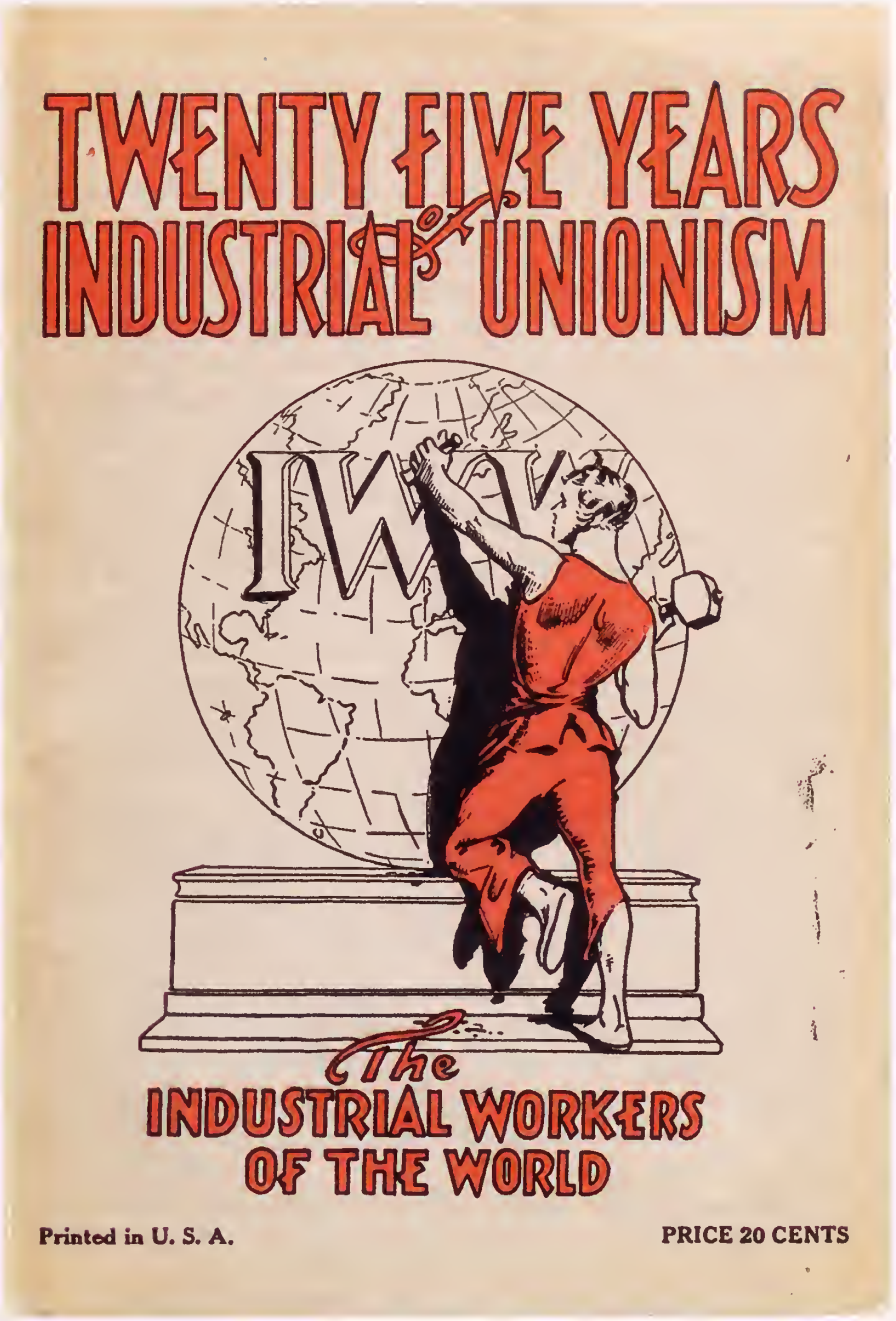


1910s



1970s







1921-27



1919

Stirring words.

Within a month perhaps 90% of the city's textile workers were on strike. Although the strike lasted just nine weeks, events moved rapidly. Almost every day an event of some kind occurred, most notably the death of a young woman striker, Anna LoPizzo, who was either shot deliberately by a policeman or accidentally by a fellow striker. On another day three hidden caches of dynamite were found. John Breen, a member of the city school board admitted to the act in an effort to frame the strikers. He was fined a token $500. Notably absent from the strikers' ranks, if Breen was an example, were local Irish Americans, descendents of those immigrants who had been victimized during the Know Nothing years in the 1850s. Now two generations removed, they were elected city officials, city government employees, small business owners and middle management in the mills. Almost all opposed the strike and police chief John J. Sullivan and Mayor Michael Scanlon became the most important leaders of the opposition.

Their leadership was sorely needed. Before the month was over, violence had become commonplace. The city's police force with their harassing tactics was giving the city a bad name with the local press and, by now, the national press as well. Ettor and his colleagues were everywhere as was the I.W.W. symbol-on pennants, buttons, leaflets and posters. Demonstrations occurred almost daily and thousands of marchers paraded on the city's main streets every few days. Pickets standing outside factory gates were arrested for loitering. Therefore the pickets walked slowly without stopping, in what has since become a standard striker practice, the moving picket line. Women and girls played a prominent role. (In some of these immigrant cultures females had lower social status which frequently mandated submission to male authority and docility.). Photographs of the strike show women and girls taunting the police and militia, thus inviting harsh repression. No doubt many of the female strikers were energized by Flynn. By mid-February mayor Scanlon had activated three companies of the local state militia, all area citizens, and just as divided about the strike as the rest of the population. Nevertheless, they repelled demonstrators at bayonet point and generally made their presence felt throughout the city. Additional National Guard units were activated from elsewhere in the state. To the strikers all militias were the enemy.

Early in the month, strikers had become seriously concerned about the health of their children. Frigid temperatures, virtually no money for food and clothing and little support from local churches led to an event that is almost unique in American labor history. Arrangements were made with I.W.W. chapters in other cities to accept small groups of children by sympathetic host families, an action proposed by child advocate Margaret Sanger, who later founded Planned Parenthood.

In what became known as the children's exodus, several hundred children, with signed parents' permission and following correspondence with host families,, were sent over a period of several weeks to Bridgeport, Connecticut; Hoboken, New Jersey; Barre, Vermont; Manchester, New Hampshire; Philadelphia and New York. On February 24, a truly sad day, now Marshall John Sullivan, who had vowed to use "all the force power, and authority, I possess", ordered a group of mothers not to place their children on a train waiting for them at the city railroad station. A brief stalemate, then one mother broke through the police cordon. Pandemonium. Police clubbed the women, dragged children away from the train and their mothers, threw women and children into police wagons, the women fought back-all this accompanied by crying and screaming in several languages. No photographs exist of this tragic affair but disbelieving on-board passengers spoke and wrote in later days about what they had seen. In district court a few days later the women were fined for disturbing the peace, their children were temporarily separated from them and sent to the city poor house while court business continued. More pandemonium. The children's exodus combined with the increasing national and international attention to Ettor's and Giovannitti's January incarceration were turning points in the strike.

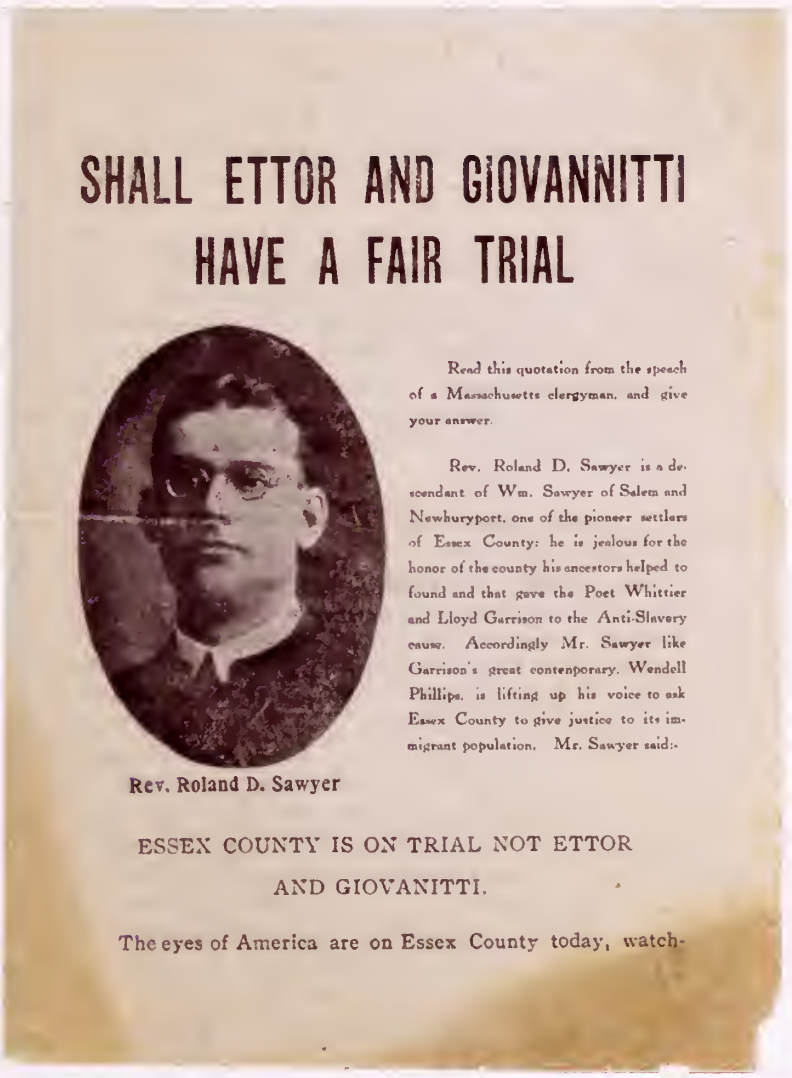
The abusive behavior of the Lawrence police abetted by the local courts had become a national scandal. In early February Governor Eugene Foss, a Republican turned Democrat, known for his anti-labor votes as a state legislator and a dark horse vice presidential hopeful in the forthcoming presidential campaign had become increasingly concerned about Lawrence's self-destruction and ineffectual leadership. Meetings with Mayor Scanlon left neither of them very happy.

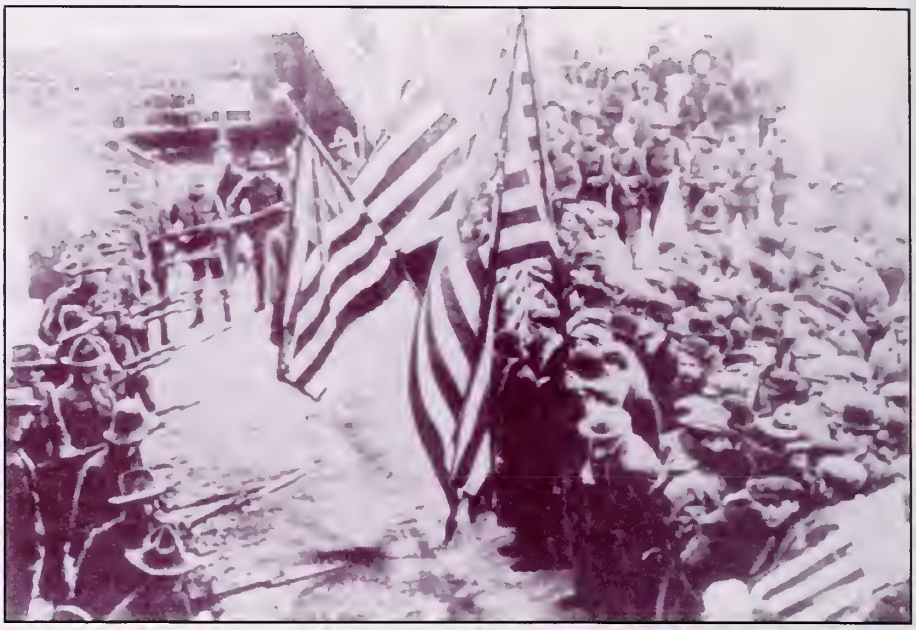
Foss appointed a state legislative committee chaired by State Senate member Calvin Coolidge to hold hearings with all the principals. Coolidge considered the mill owners as intractable but of the strike leaders, he wrote in a letter, "Socialists and anarchists do not want anybody to work for wages. The trouble was not wages. It [the strike] is a small attempt to destroy all authority whether of any church or government." This view served him in good stead when, as governor of Massachusetts, he put down the Boston police strike in 1919. In Washington in early March the House of Representatives' Rules Committee heard testimony from a group of strikers, including children. President Taft ordered an investigation into industrial conditions nationally. Northing came of either action.





In late January Ettor and Giovannitti had been arrested by Lawrence authorities and charged with causing the conditions which led to Anna LoPizzo's death. From that time to the opening of their trial they were confined in the Lawrence city jail. Their imprisonment and the ensuing trial became an international cause célèbre. Haywood was not in New England at the time; he was "captured" later but never tried and Flynn was never arrested. After many delays the trial opened at the federal courthouse in Salem, the seat of Essex County government. From the day in early September to the day a verdict was reached Ettor and Giovannitti were brought every day from the Lawrence city jail to the Essex County courthouse where they were confined in a cage located in the center of the court room. Throughout the trial Ettor accepted this humiliation with his usual aplomb. Giovanetti wrote poems. Prominent operatic tenor Enrico Caruso offered to stage a fundraiser in their behalf. Nicola Sacco, an ardent reader of *Il Proletario*, who would himself become the subject of another cause célèbre together with his colleague Bartolomeo Vanzetti a decade later, attended daily. Bill Haywood addressed large crowds-25,000 on Boston Common on one occasion-in New York, Providence and elsewhere.





The president and his wife were vacationing at their summer home in nearby Beverly Farms at the time. First Lady Helen Taft dropped by one morning; she left without comment, then or later.

The trial was front page news and matched in drama the events of the strike itself. Defense funds were raised from I.W.W. chapters across the country. The jury consisted of twelve working class members who were presented evidence that was inconclusive and contradictory. Prosecutors displayed maps of the city to show how the Wobblies planned demonstrations and parades (virtually no difference between them). In an unusual step, Ettor and Giovannitti were allowed to address the jury directly. Both spoke eloquently and convincingly in words that should be included in every publication about great American speeches. Ettor argued that wealth being the product of labor should belong to labor and no one else. Such an idea might seem radical but ideas cannot be choked, he argued "a noose or the guillotine cannot kill an idea ...an idea lives because history judges it ...a social crime in one age becomes the religion of humanity in the next." Giovannitti condemned a system that permitted employers to own a worker's tools, home and factory, hence his mind, body, heart and soul. He finished speaking at two o'clock. The jury was recessed for the weekend. On Monday, the foreman announced a verdict, but the judge fearing violence ordered the verdict withheld until the next day. The jury returned to court early the following morning with a verdict to acquit, November 25, 1912.

The citizens of Lawrence were very unhappy with the verdict. The city's most important religious figure, Father James O'Reilly -- who earlier condemned the Wobblies as "The Godless I.W.W!" -- became a rallying focus for protest. Ettor and his strike committee were the devil's henchmen. On October 12th, with the I.W.W. leaders long departed and with local Wobblies not daring to admit their membership, public anger at the I.W.W. converged into a huge "For God and Country" parade that defined opposition to the I.W.W. and the strike as a patriotic action. Marchers waving flags and singing patriotic songs passed under an arch erected on Essex Street bearing a motto chosen by Father O'Reilly: "For God and Country/ The Stars and Stripes Forever., the Red Flag Never/ A Protest Against the I.W.W., Its Principles and Methods". Ettor had been denied a celebratory parade permit. Inevitably, the IWW was now unpatriotic. This belief became perhaps the I.W.W.'s single biggest burden as World War I drew nearer and the United State's involvement became more and more a certainty. Wobblies would henceforth be seen as un-American and, indeed, traitors. The parade itself was the first step in what became for over sixty years a denial, a sanitizing of the strike by Lawrence citizens who over all those years blamed "outsiders". The strike had literally disappeared from Lawrence history and public memory. In the early 1980s, under the leadership of the Lawrence Heritage Center and local unions, the events of 1912 were revisited and since then an annual Labor Day Bread and Roses Festival is celebrated on historic Lawrence Common where strikers once rallied to hear Joseph Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and "Big Bill" Haywood give voice to their grievances.



1918



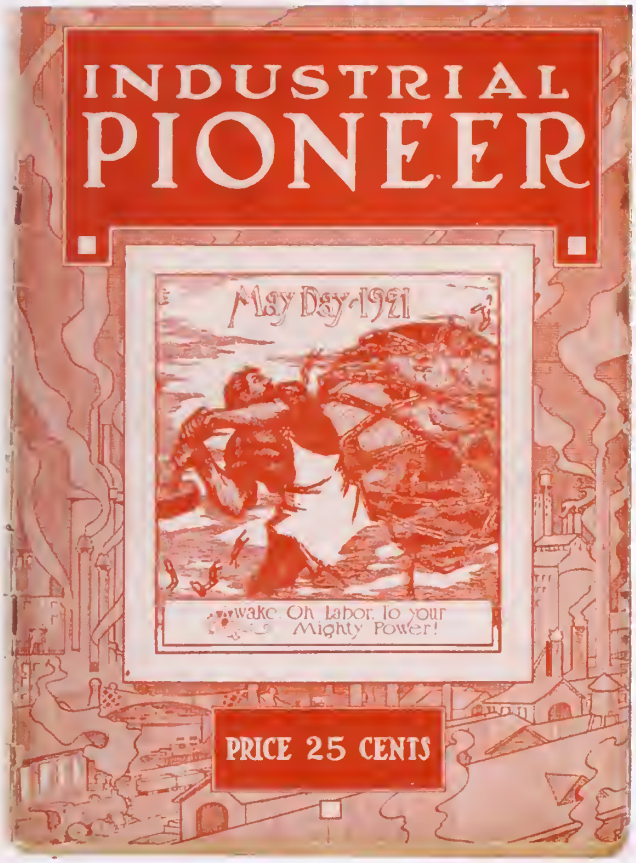
1918

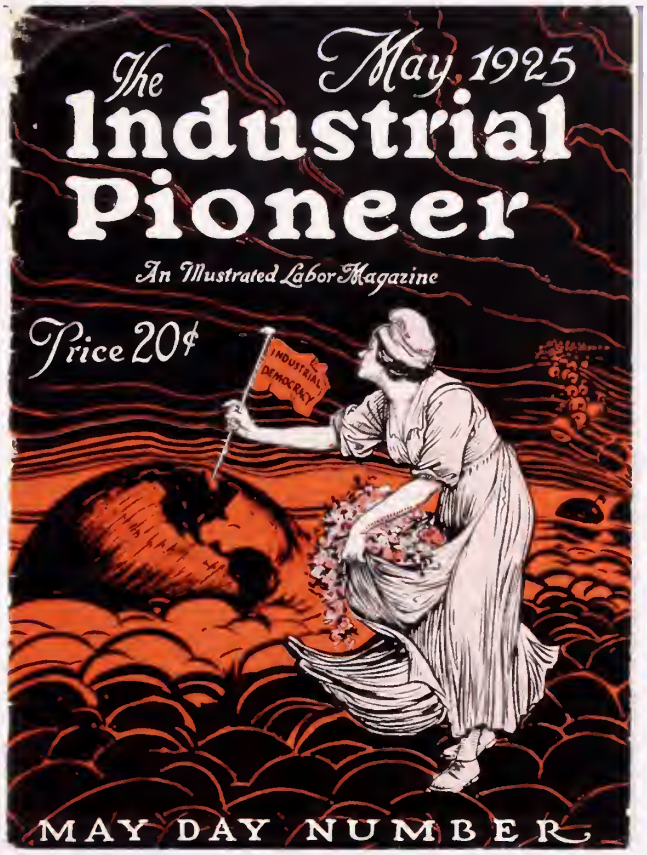


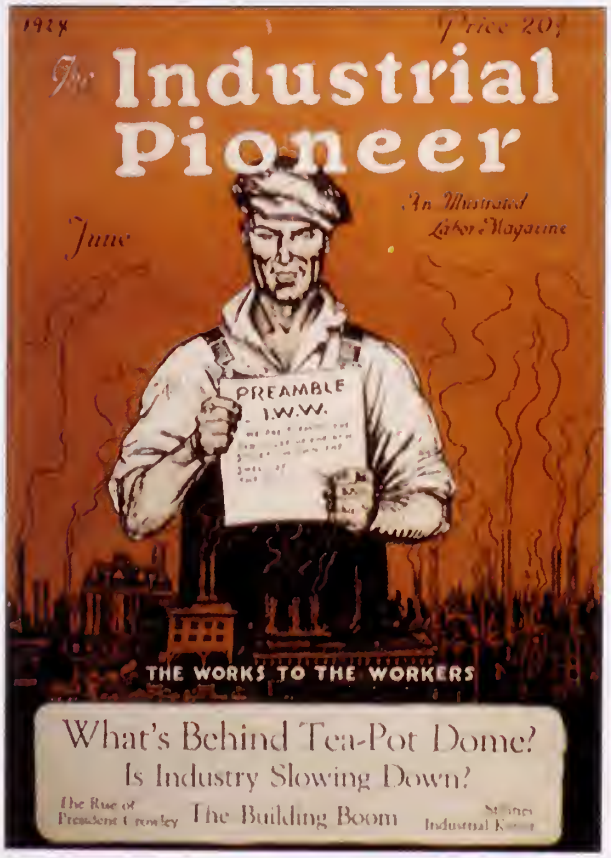
1910s



1917


INDUSTRIAL
PIONEER
May Day-1921
Wake Oh Labor to your Mighty Power!
PRICE 25 CENTS


The Industrial Pioneer
May 1925
An Illustrated Labor Magazine
Price 20¢
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
MAY DAY NUMBER


1924
Price 20¢
The Industrial Pioneer
An Illustrated Labor Magazine
June
PREAMBLE I.W.W.
THE WORKS TO THE WORKERS
What's Behind Tea-Pot Dome?
Is Industry Slowing Down?
The Rise of President Crowley
The Building Boom


The Industrial Pioneer
Price 20¢
1924
In This Issue
Economic Background of the Ku Klux Klan.
Scandinavia and its Labor Movement

The General Defense

Some years ago the British author Gilbert K. Chesterton offered an insight about American democracy that I've never forgotten. "Unlike other countries", he wrote, "American nationhood is not based on race, territory or blood. Rather, it is based upon a single idea, political equality - i.e., democracy; the first country to do so. To be an American is to embrace that idea -to actively take part in it and be engaged with it, day in and day out. No secular idea in human history is more breathtaking, more radical, more important-and more dangerous." Dangerous, Chesterton might have added, because it is so easy to ignore the idea of political equality and all that it entails for a healthy democracy. It is so easy to fall into a bottomless pit of blatant anti-democratic contradictions: Thus, for example, slavery, the Indian wars, denying women and minorities voting rights and workers' right to organize. The I.W.W. was dangerous. It was a defiant challenge and a frightening threat to large segments of the American public who were traditionally indifferent to or tended to ignore such contradictions.

By April, 1917, when the United States entered the war against Germany, the I.W.W. had become perhaps the nation's chief example of the specter in the closet (or perhaps, to use a now archaic term from my childhood, the boogie man). A venomous comment published in 1912 well captures the hostility, even fear, which was shaping Americans' perception of the I.W.W.: "[Wobblies] were the waste material of creation and should be drained off into the sewer of oblivion, there to rot in cold obstruction like any other excrement." Their strikes during the 1912-1916 years against powerful corporations in various parts of the country frequently led to battles with Pinkertons and other private detective agencies, deaths on both sides, and usually produced meager results for the strikers. For them, battles were fierce and benefits were few. During the war years the I.W.W.'s refusal to suspend their activities and support the war effort was a further cause to label its members as unpatriotic and their behavior treasonous.

Today, when we think of the United States' involvement in World War I a variety images come to mind, perhaps the astoundingly immense sums of money raised by Liberty Bond drives; U.S. Marines' heroism at Belleau Wood; Medal of Honor winner Sergeant Alvin York; the sinking of the Lusitania. Composer Irving Berlin's "Over There" is still a popular song today and theater impresario George M. Cohan's patriotic dramas made him the "Yankee Doodle Man". But there was a dark underside. Several events in war time America combined to further marginalize the I.W.W. in the eyes of many Americans.

First was the national reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution, which came as a sudden and unexpected shock to Americans and led to the conclusion, among others, that some immigrants, especially Jewish and southern European Wobblies, were "red-dish".



Second was the rise, or resurgence, of vigilantism and nativism, both as old as the nation itself and usually characterized by opposition to "outsiders", especially immigrants. The former, a peculiar and historic American expression dating back to the Revolutionary War era and the latter, a militant American social force concealing self interest wrapped in the cloak of patriotism.

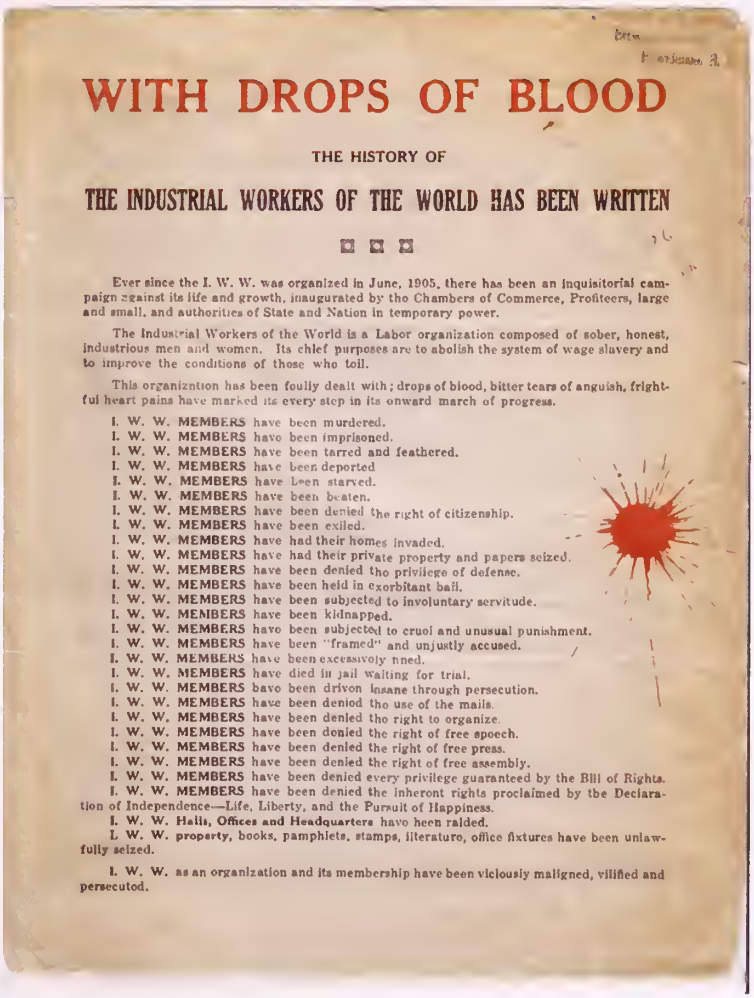
Third was passage of the National Espionage Act in 1917 and the Sedition Act in 1918, legislation that legitimized government censorship; gave unrestricted authority to various federal agencies to regulate and even compel adherence to government mandates or face incarceration; deported "undesirables"; imposed extreme limitations on free speech and assembly and overrode other constitutional rights.

Fourth was the Selective Service Act, requiring all able-bodied men to register. Thus one could be imprisoned for criticizing the government's involvement and war effort as were prominent socialist Eugene V. Debs and thousands of Wobblies. The Postmaster General was given authority to ban from the mails "seditious literature" deemed to be un-American, especially leftist publications such as *The Masses* and virtually all I.W.W. publications. Dozens of jingoistic self appointed vigilante groups formed; all were aimed at suppressing un-American activities. Among them: the Nathan Hale Volunteers, the Boy Spies of America, the National Security League, the Loyalty League, the Knights of Liberty and The American Protective League (the largest and most influential). Minute Women of New Haven and Bridgeport was an example operating at the neighborhood level. Jingoism, racism and xenophobia were an unhealthy mixture that partly defined America's cultural climate during World War I.

Probably Wobblies registered for the draft as did other young men. But if Wobblies did not, they were "slackers". Gangs of self appointed citizen-vigilantes would accost them, along with conscientious objectors--another group held in contempt by patriots---and either assaulted them or force marched them to the nearest enlistment station. Wobblies, true to form, responded to the Selective Service Act with "General Sherman said `War is Hell'. Don't go to Hell in order to give capitalists a bigger slice of Heaven." This piece of doggerel was published in a Little Red Book and suggests how most members viewed the draft:

"I love my flag, I do, I do,
Which floats upon the breeze.
I also love my arms and legs,
And neck and nose and knees.
A little shell might spoil them all
Or give them such a twist
They would be no use to me.
I guess I won't enlist."





WITH DROPS OF BLOOD

THE HISTORY OF

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN WRITTEN

Ever since the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, there has been an inquisitorial campaign against its life and growth, inaugurated by the Chambers of Commerce, Profiteers, large and small, and authorities of State and Nation in temporary power.

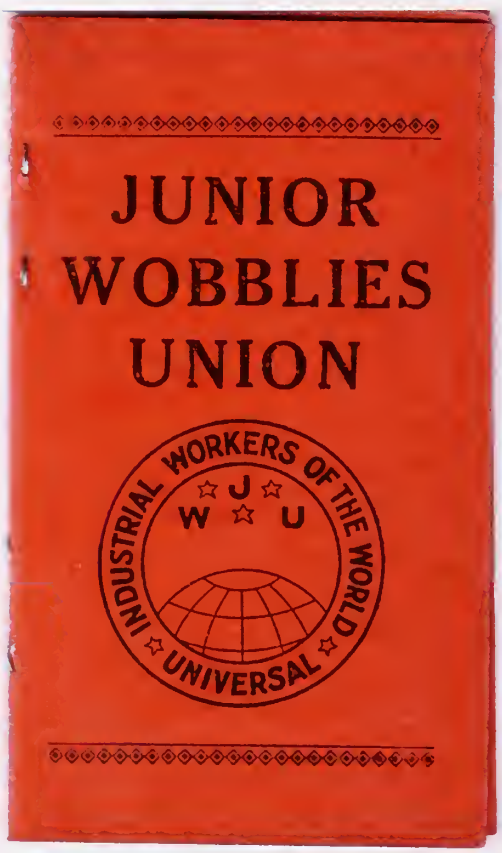
The Industrial Workers of the World is a Labor organization composed of sober, honest, industrious men and women. Its chief purposes are to abolish the system of wage slavery and to improve the conditions of those who toil.

This organization has been foully dealt with; drops of blood, bitter tears of anguish, frightful heart pains have marked its every step in its onward march of progress.

I. W. W. MEMBERS have been murdered.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been imprisoned.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been tarred and feathered.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been deported
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been starved.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been beaten.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of citizenship.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been exiled.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their homes invaded.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their private property and papers seized.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the privilege of defense.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been held in exorbitant bail.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to involuntary servitude.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been kidnapped.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been "framed" and unjustly accused.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been excessively fined.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have died in jail waiting for trial.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been driven insane through persecution.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the use of the mails.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right to organize.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free speech.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free press.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free assembly.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.
I. W. W. Halls, Offices and Headquarters have been raided.
I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature, office fixtures have been unlawfully seized.

I. W. W. as an organization and its membership have been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted.

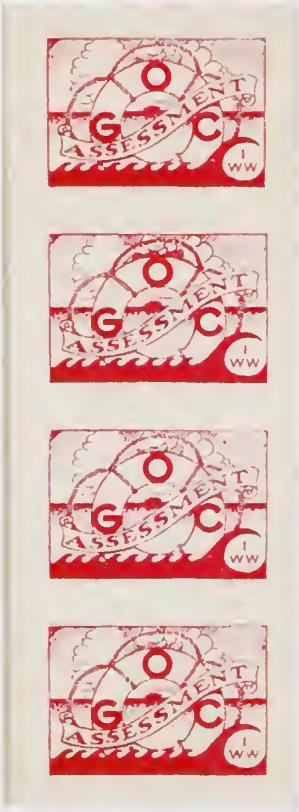






1990s

1917-18



1920s





1920s



1910

Late in 1916, as the reality of American involvement in Europe's war became an increasingly dominating question in public life, the I.W.W. issued a re-affirmation of its anti-war position: "The General Executive Board of the I.W.W. re-affirms with unfaltering determination the unalterable opposition of the Industrial Workers of the World and its membership to all wars... In this mad chaos of bloodshed and slaughter that has engulfed the world, all the rights that we have fought so long and bitterly to retain and enlarge are being crushed by the ruthless power of Capitalism ...it behooves the membership of the I.W.W. to look to their rights and battle for their principles with intensified vigor and courage. We must not allow the masters of industry, under the cloak of `military expediency' or the subtle hypocritical lie of this being a `War for Democracy'...To destroy every vestige of our organization, to stifle the voice of workers, to crush the working class press by abrogating the rights of Free Speech, Free Press and Free Assembly ...these tyrannical acts of power ...We cannot and shall not tolerate without protest and resistance by all mean within our power, we must let these tyrants understand that they cannot fool us with their `War for Democracy' lies by destroying Democracy here. We serve notice on our Capitalist masters that we just as bitterly opposed to their wars of commercialism, today, as we ever were and our refusal to endorse or participate in their wars is just as firm as it ever was..."

This statement was as much a declaration of war upon American industry -- in war time -- as it was a manifesto of conscience. All the hostility, violence, killings, jail time and the like directed at the I.W.W. before the war continued. Generally moderately productive or unsuccessful strikes in Minnesota, Montana and the Pacific Northwest triggered violent responses. In one of the more heinous cases, union organizer Frank Little at the Anaconda mines in Butte, Montana was attacked by local vigilantes, dragged by a car through the streets and then lynched. All this with a plaster cast on his leg, the result of a previous attack. Little's earlier comment that "the best method of repealing a bad law is to make officials enforce it" remains a provocative thought.

The national headquarters in Chicago, along with state offices were raided by state and local authorities, members arrested and jailed, buildings and equipment destroyed and publications banned from the mails. Thousands of members were incarcerated, very often under serious life threatening conditions, in Chicago's Cook County jail, in jails in Kansas City, Sacramento, San Diego, Seattle and elsewhere. Once the federal government's Department of Justice became involved Wobblies were confined in San Quentin and Leavenworth; the latter known to them as "hell's forty acres" Sentences of twenty years or more were not unusual. In his trilogy *U.S.A.* John Dos Passos wrote "...in cookhouses, flophouses and jungles Wobblies [were] singing Joe Hill's songs. They sang them in the county jails ...in the bullpens ...sang them in Walla Walla, San Quentin and Leavenworth, forming the structure of a new society within the jails of the old."

The I.W.W. created a General Defense Committee, an umbrella title, to co-ordinate local unions and committees, each of whom was issued a charter to authorize fund raising activities. With a motivating theme "We are in for you, you are out there for us", Wobblies turned their seemingly inexhaustible energy to raising funds for legal fees and support for families with jailed husbands and fathers, all of whom were themselves victims of the "class war".

The 18th edition of the *Little Red Song Book: The General Defense Edition*, published in 1918, urged members to contribute, and "every dollar spent defended prisoners of the class war in support of Industrial Democracy". Every dollar was desperately needed. The I .W.W. was hammered hard during those war time years and, although seriously weakened, it was never out. Despite ruthless suppression by employers, a shift of some members to the newly formed American Communist Party, most notably Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (although most members were highly critical of the Soviet system) and advancements in industrial technology, the I.W.W. retained its vitality. However, the Palmer "Red Raids" (named after U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer but thought by some scholars to have been actually instigated by an up and coming young bureaucrat in the Department of Justice named John Edgar Hoover) during the years 1919-1922 just about destroyed the I.W.W. as a national union. Thus President Warren Harding's pardon of jailed Wobblies, and Eugene Debs in 1923 was also the symbolic end of the I.W.W. as a national force.



San Diego 1910

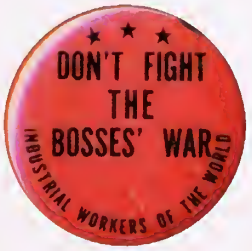


1960s-70s





1933



1970s

Their Legacy

Labor historians agree that the I.W.W made a major contribution to labor unions and the now firmly established national respect for civil rights. Specifically, by laying a solid foundation for strategy and philosophy that led to mass organization of the unskilled, foreign-born, non-white and females in unions associated with the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. during the 1930s and 1940s. The I.W.W.'s importance as a model in organizing migrant farm workers during those years is evident in Cesar Chavez's successful union leadership with his United Farm Workers in later decades. The I.W.W.'s strike tactics are now standard with contemporary unions: sit-downs and slowdowns, chain picketing and the moving picket line are examples.

During the Great Depression, Wobblies joined with other unions in providing housing and food for the jobless. In the field of civil rights the I.W.W. was a major stimulus that caused liberals to form organizations aimed at protecting dissenters' rights under the First Amendment. Roger Baldwin, one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, considered the I.W.W. to be the champion contributor in persuading Americans to make a firm commitment to civil rights. The I.W.W. has a proud legacy. There is no epitaph.

Today, the I.W.W. remains an active force in the American labor movement. It has worked with other unions in strikes, most notably against the Starbucks coffee chain and during the Vietnam War it was a strong supporter of anti-war organizations and it has been continuously involved with migrant labor groups.



1920s



World War I



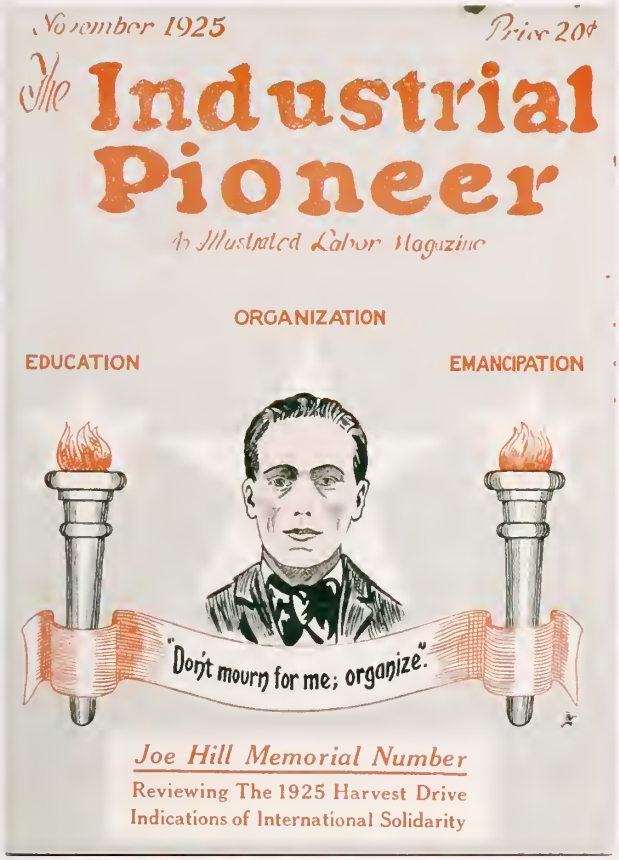
1936

The stick pin above in the shape of a shoe refers to industrial sabotage as a tactic of class warfare. Although the origin of the term is obscure, it clearly relates to the wooden shoes (sabots) once worn by workers in France and the Netherlands. Such shoes were sometimes thrown into machinery to jam the works.

Notes

In recent years the I.W.W. has become a major subject for scholarly study and a substantial body of research is becoming available, thanks in large part to Fred Thompson (1900-1987) who was an active Wobbly for most his life. He dedicated himself to collecting and preserving I.W.W. historical material and donated his archives to Wayne State University in Detroit. The Chicago-based publisher Charles H. Kerr Company, which has been publishing leftist literature for over a century, continues to publish I.W.W. publications as it has since the early 1900s. I was born and raised in Salem, Massachusetts, the seat of Essex County government and the site of Ettor's and Giovannetti's trial. I was a teenager when I first learned about the Bread and Roses strike. When I visited the courtroom where they were tried I was disappointed to learn that the cage that confined them was long gone. I am indebted to Jim Kirk for allowing me to photograph objects in his collection and to Ted Watts for providing items from his collection.

Ed Sullivan (#264) will soon be marking his fiftieth year as an APIC member. He is a member of the Hall of Fame, a recipient of the Historian's Award and author or co-author of, among other books, *Collecting Political Americana* published in 1979 and 1991 and *Images of American Radicalism* published in 1998 and 2000.



Political Items in Noel Barrett's upcoming Antique Toy & Americana Auction
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Lincoln Tea Advertising Bust as stated in original 1901 ads by The Lincoln Proprietarty Co., this reproduction of the only bust from life of Abraham Lincoln made of ivory white clay would be available free of charge to any retail druggist who agreed to procure and sell their "Non Secret Herb Remedy" lot includes an unopened box of the tea



Benjamin Harrison Campaign Rattler scarce lithographed-paper-on wood political noisemaker made for the presidential campaign of 1892. This was made by noted toy manufacturer - J.A.Crandall

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Sessions at 10:00AM
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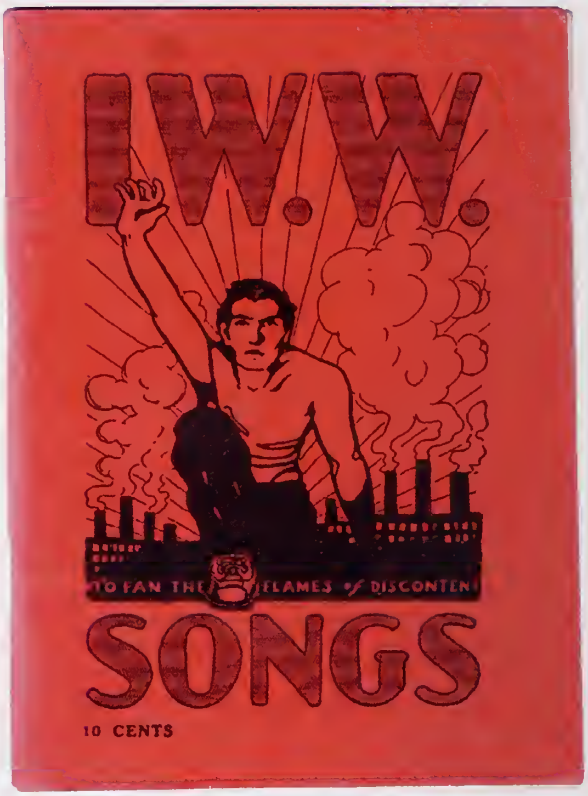
Recent buttons

Woodrow Wilson Presidential Campaign Items Wanted



Tony Atkiss
214-369-6461
atkiss@sprynet.com







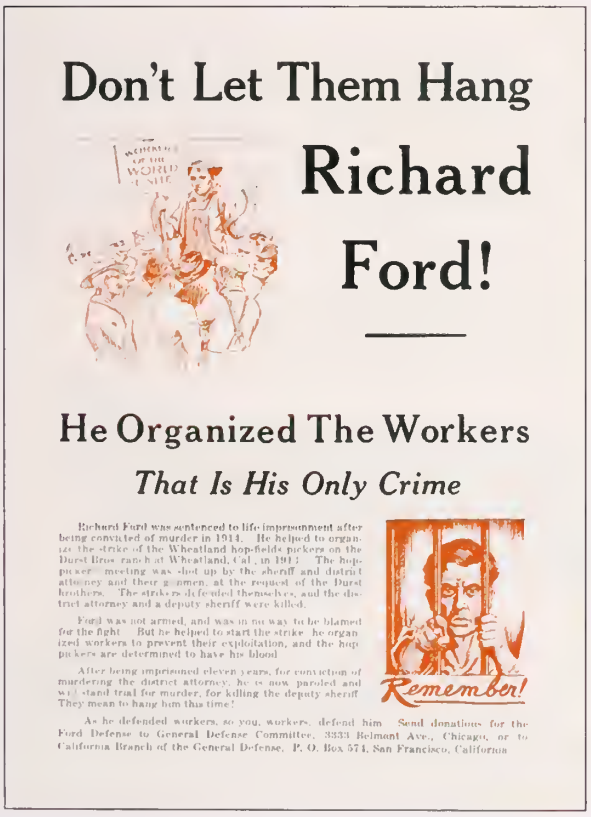


A selection of the famous IWW "Little Red Songbooks."


Remember!
WE ARE IN HERE
FOR YOU, YOU ARE
OUT THERE FOR US

1990s


ONE BIG UNION
SOLIDARITY
FOREVER!


Don't Let Them Hang
Richard
Ford!
He Organized The Workers
That Is His Only Crime
Remember!

1914


THE INTERNATIONAL
ONE BIG UNION
TORCH OF FREEDOM

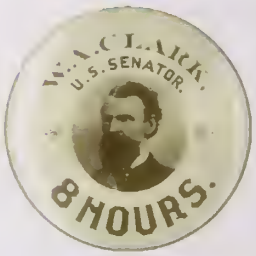
The Battle for Montana

By Benny Brandvold



Politics in early Montana was shaped a great deal by a personal and professional conflict between two powerful and wealthy individuals, William Clark and Marcus Daly; the "Copper Kings." Both played prominent roles in the development of the copper resources on Butte Hill, the largest copper producer in the world. These two gentlemen battled for control of not only wealth but also for political influence from the transition of Montana to statehood until Daly's death in 1900.





The underlying cause of their feud is likely known only to Clark and Daly but there has been significant speculation from historians over the last century. Most trace the origin of the hostilities to the 1888 election for territorial delegate to Congress. Mining was the dominant industry and miners tended to lean heavily to the Democratic Party; therefore, when Clark received the Democratic nomination he felt his election was a foregone conclusion and when Montana became a state he would likely ascend to the Senate. Unfortunately, the election went to the Republican Thomas Carter, with the heavily Democratic bastions of Butte and Anaconda voting heavily Republican. Clark suspected his rival had manipulated the election to embarrass him publically. There were reports of shift bosses at Daly's mines changing the ballots and threats of lay-offs if Clark were elected. It has also been suggested some of Daly's faithful may have voted more frequently than allowed by law; many say that is a long held Butte tradition.





Some speculate Daly's motives were strictly economic; a Republican congressman would have more influence in Harrison's administration and Daly hoped to quell significant reforms to the timber industry which would have adversely affected his holdings. Another theory holds that Daly was a strong Irish Catholic, as were most of his employees, and their rejection of Clark was just a North American extension of the war between the Green and the Orange (Clark was a Northern Irish Protestant). In fact, in one of Clark's early campaign speeches he defamed a popular leader in the Irish Home Rule movement by accusing him of desertion from union forces. In addition, Clark held a campaign barbecue three weeks before the election on a Friday insulting the Catholic contingent by serving beef.





Following this humiliation, Clark's hunger for political office and Daly's efforts to thwart him shaped nearly every aspect of state politics to include the capital location but also indirectly affected national politics by changing how future senators would be selected. Both men served as delegates to the State Constitutional Convention and when statehood was ratified in 1889, Clark set his sights on an office concordant with his wealth and power, a U.S Senate Seat. At that time senators were elected by state legislators and, to Clark's misfortune, the first Montana legislature was deadlocked. Each party had an equal representation but five seats from Butte were disputed due to voting irregularities. Each party claimed the seats and when no resolution was forthcoming each contingent met separately and elected a separate slate of senators. When both senate delegations arrived in Washington the Republican Congress voted to seat Wilbur Sanders and T.C. Power. Thus Clark was sent home disappointed.

Clark and Daly forces tangled again when Sander's seat needed to be filled in the 1893 legislative session. This time there was not the controversy associated with seating the first legislature but the representatives could not reach a majority with three Daly loyalists refusing to support Clark. This deadlock resulted in the new state being without a senator until the next legislative session. The 1894 election brought a backlash against the Cleveland administration's recession and a Republican landslide in Montana, thus both Senate seats went to the victors.

Despite the defeat of his beloved Democratic Party and loss of another chance for a Senate seat, Clark was elated with the election of 1894 as he had finally defeated Marcus Daly in the "Capital Fight." The Constitutional Convention could not agree on the site of the future capital and deferred this decision to a general election. Daly had established his refinery operations in Anaconda and in essence created the city, his pride and joy. He deeply and openly wished to have the capital seated there. Clark, angry with the betrayal in '88, put all his resources behind Helena. An open "primary" was held in the general election in 1892 with Helena coming out on top and Anaconda second but without a majority. A number of other cities also vied for the honor and ribbons from their efforts are featured along with this article. This set the stage for the big showdown in 1894. Both men spent vast sums of money on this campaign; one estimate speculates spending of almost $3 million, or $50 per vote cast. The spending translated into a multitude of campaign material some of which is illustrated here. Clark's Helena prevailed by 1,906 votes with over 52,000 votes cast. It should be noted that in the census of 1890 there were only 65,000 males of voting age in Montana.

Clark's next chance for his coveted seat came with the 1899 legislative session. The 1898 election had given the Democrats a sizable majority in the House but Daly controlled the Silver Bow County (Butte) delegation, denying Clark a majority. What happened next resulted in a black eye nationally for Montana's reputation and played a significant role in the future election of senators. It seems Clark set about purchasing votes from Republican and independent representatives until his election was secured. Testimony suggests bribes were as high as $30,000 per individual; quite a sum of money at that time when one considers state legislators were often farmers or small business owners. On the day Clark was seated in the Senate, Dec. 4 1899, Senator Thomas Carter (Daly's foil in the territorial race) called upon his colleagues to reject him. Hearings followed and when the unsavory details came to light, Clark resigned to fight another day.











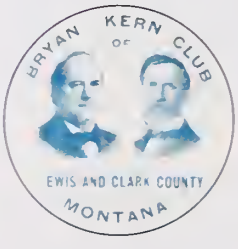
One would assume after such a public fiasco, Clark would fade from the scene and let matters cool. Such are the actions of the meek; within the year Clark would battle again for his cherished seat. This time he would join forces with the charismatic Augustus Heinze, a new power in the Butte mining scene. Heinze had frequently battled Daly in the courts winning resources by exploiting loopholes in archaic mining law, but when Daly sold his assets to the Standard Oil Amalgamated Trust, Heinze would need a legislature sympathetic to blocking the change in venue legislation sponsored by the Amalgam.

With Daly representing the giant corporate trust, Heinze and Clark appealed to the miners and populists advocating for an 8-hour work day and union strength. Daly and Clark factions battled in Butte at the state convention in June (see ribbon from Madison County) and fragmented forming two separate Democratic parties each sending delegates to the national convention in Kansas City and nominating candidates for state office. Clark's group ran under Democratic Party title and Daly's under the Independent Democrats (see ribbons from both conventions). I suspect the Bryan trigate was created for one of these races as these pins nearly always come from Montana accumulations.

Clark and Heinze were able to form a fusion ticket with the populist and union-labor parties which all held their conventions in Helena simultaneously. Many items came out during this campaign and the legislative session that followed. Most of these items supported Clark directly or railed against Standard Oil or Amalgamated Copper. The pin with the 16 to 1, 8-hour day, pick, spade and dinner pail is often attributed to Bryan but the "Anti-Amalgamation" slogan around the top suggests it is a Clark item. The one in my collection came attached to a state convention ribbon. The fusion ticket won an impressive victory; winning every statewide office and a clear majority in the house. This assured Clark his seat in the Senate which he assumed in 1901. Within days of the election returns, Daly died, emotionally beaten by his adversary. Shortly thereafter, Clark would sell out to the trust which ultimately became the Anaconda Copper Company and Montana Power which dominated Montana economically and politically for many decades to come.

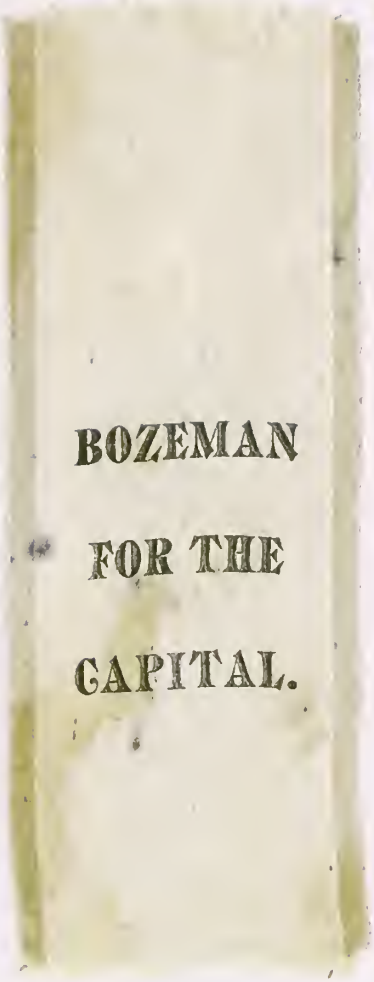
Clark's bribery and corruption made public in the Senate hearings contributed to the populist movement to change the election of US senators by the ratification of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution. This provided for the direct election of senators rather than their selection by state legislatures. Augustus Heinze ultimately sold his holdings to the trust for an incredible profit but died bankrupt when he lost his fortune in the stock market controlled by players in the trust he had thwarted so long. Some have speculated his collapse was orchestrated through stock manipulations at the hands of his enemies. Montana's early political landscape was ruled by interesting larger than life beings who were not afraid to throw their weight around. For more detailed presentations of this conflict I would recommend *The War of the Copper Kings* by C.B. Glasscock or *The Battle for Butte* by Michael Malone.





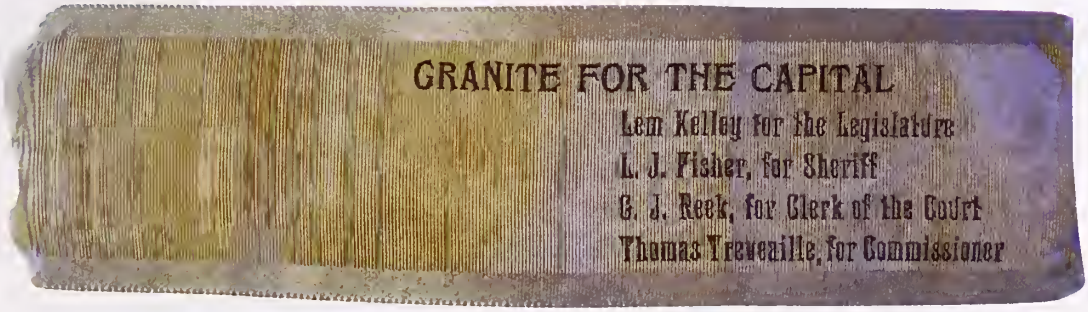



CARTER
FOR
CONGRESS
"Above protection and free trade; above party lines and geographical sections; above the fleeting excitement of this hour, reigns the eternal principle of justice, in the name of which I ask protection for these petitioners who delve by day and by night in the crust of the earth, mining ore for the smelter combine, whose every product you have heretofore protected."


BOZEMAN
FOR THE
CAPITAL.


Bryan & Silver
Delegate
INDEPENDENT
DEMOCRATIC
STATE
CONVENTION
Tuesday, October 2nd
1900.
TETON
County

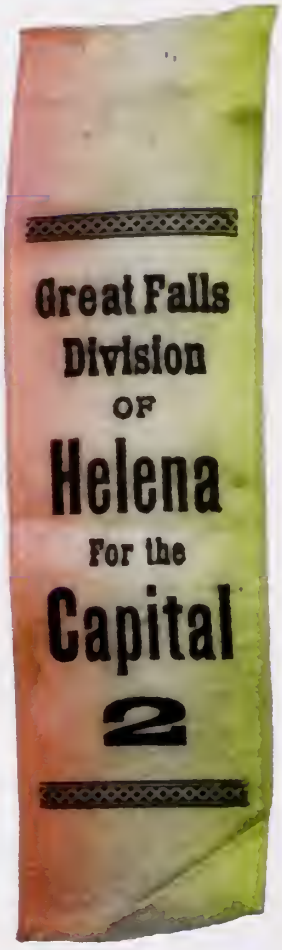



GRANITE FOR THE CAPITAL
Lem Kelley for the Legislature
L. J. Fisher, for Sheriff
G. J. Reek, for Clerk of the Court
Thomas Treveaille, for Commissioner


GRANITE
FOR THE CAPITAL.


GREAT FALLS FOR THE CAPITAL.
NO CHINAMEN ALLOWED.

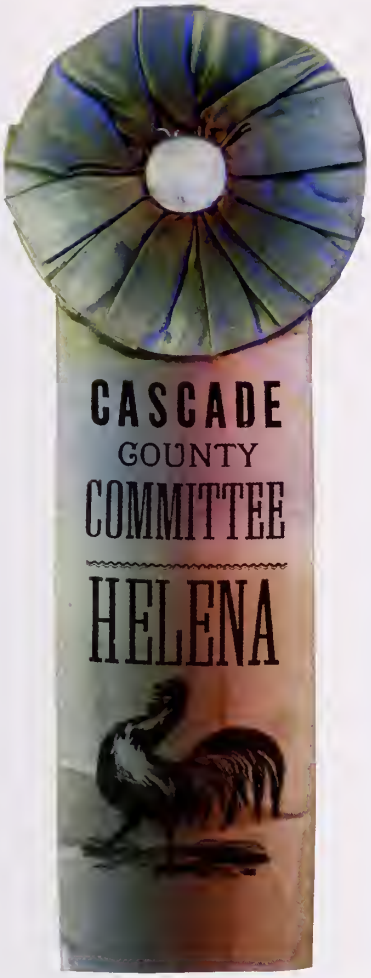

HELENA
ANACONDA
DEFEAT.


Great Falls
Division
OF
Helena
For the
Capital
2


HELENA
HELENA


HELENA
AHEAD
HELENA
IS THE
CAPITAL
CASCADE
COUNTY


DRUMMOND FOR THE
CAPITOL


CASCADE
COUNTY
COMMITTEE
HELENA


..DELEGATE..
Madison County
....TO....
Democratic
STATE CONVENTION
JUNE 20, 1900.


DELEGATE FROM
MADISON
COUNTY
TO
Democratic
State
Convention
Helena, Mont.
Sept. 19, 1900.


ANACONDA
FOR THE CAPITAL


ANACONDA
THE CAPITAL
MONTANA




FOR THE CAPITAL
HELENA MONTANA

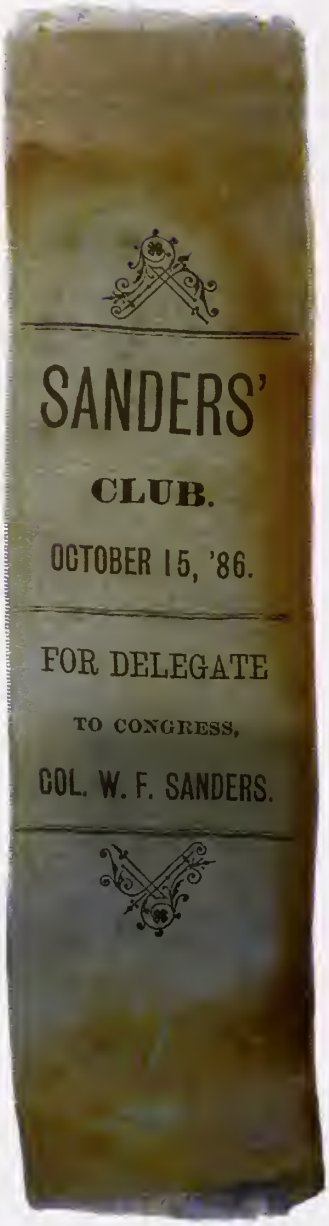

THE CAPITAL
ANACONDA MONTANA


ANACONDA
THE CAPITAL
OF MONTANA


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OF MONTANA









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Locals

Governors of West Virginia

By David Quintin

This is the third in an ongoing series of articles featuring political campaign items related to the election of governors. Highlighted are some of the more interesting buttons as well as other campaign items that were used in the campaigns for the governorship of West Virginia.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, residents of the western part of Virginia voted against secession. Later that year the people voted to create a new state, West Virginia, and break away from the confederate influence of Virginia. A state constitution was ratified in 1862 and West Virginia was admitted as a state into the Union in 1863.

Coal has been the driving influence of the economic engine in West Virginia since statehood and well into the 20th century. Coal seams are found in 53 of its 55 counties which brought in immigrant labor as well as impoverished farmers from the adjacent Southern states when the farm economies faltered. This boom continued into the 1950's when strip-mining machines replaced underground miners and dropped coal mine employment from 22% in 1950 to less than 4% in the late 1990's. As chairman and ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Robert Byrd has been able to funnel over $1 billion in federal projects into West Virginia during his Senate term. This coupled with state tax incentives attracted corporate investments into the state including Toyota, Georgia Pacific and Swearingen Aircraft, to name just a few. This diversification has enabled the West Virginia economy to maintain the shift away from coal but at the same time the state has been losing its younger population to the surrounding states, and its median age, 38.9, is the highest in the nation.

Since statehood West Virginia's political history has been split between the two political parties. Of the thirty-one different governors, seventeen have been Democratic while the remaining fourteen were Republican. In the U.S. Senate, of the thirty different senators, seventeen have been Democratic leaving thirteen in the Republican column. The Democrats however have dominated the two U.S. Senate seats for the past fifty years. Beginning with Jennings Randolph in 1958 and followed by John D. Rockefeller in 1985 as Class 2 Senators and Robert C. Byrd in 1959 as a Class 1 senator, Democrats have clearly held control of this branch of government.

With a combined total of 882,527 votes in 1952 it is interesting to note that not since this race has the voter turn out been at this level for a gubernatorial race. The campaign pitted the Democratic and winner, William C. Marland, against the former U.S. Senator Rush D. Holt. In contrast the total 2008 gubernatorial vote was 706,046. The total Presidential vote that year was 714,868 with the state being carried by John McCain.

Most of the early 1896 – 1930's, campaign items from West Virginia can be quite scarce to rare. The gubernatorial races during this period witnessed voter turnout in the 200,000 range through the mid-1920's to a high of 832,000 in 1936. Like most statewide campaigns during this period the use of political ribbons was almost non existent. Any ribbons from this period would be considered rare. Certain early celluloid buttons from this period can also be classified as rare. Condition issues with the early celluloid buttons seem to be a common problem with many of them showing staining due to exposure to moisture.

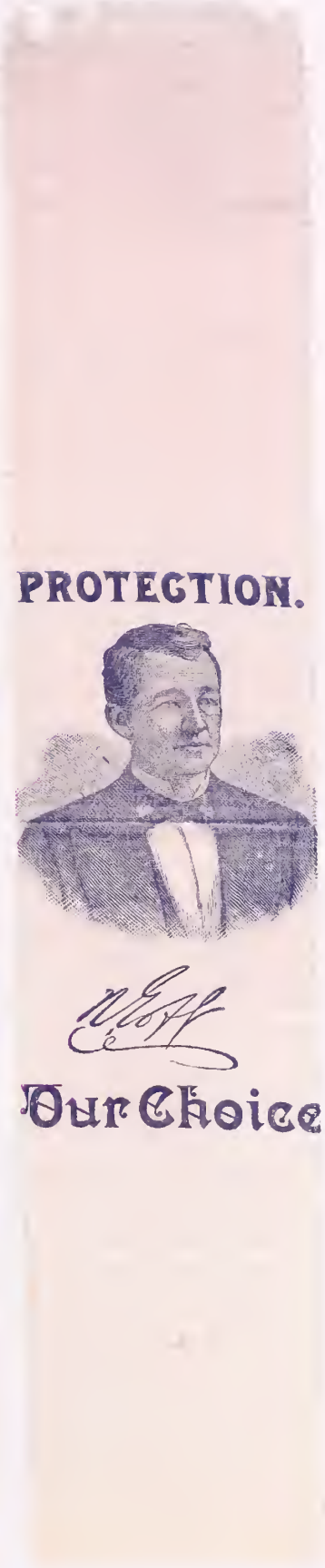
With the above in mind the following is a personal selection of my favorite West Virginia governor political items in no particular order, with a little history for each. In an attempt to showcase items that most collectors have not seen, most of the items would be considered uncommon to rare.

1. Nathan Goff

"Protection. N. Goff Our Choice" and "Victory and Protection! N. Goff Our Choice for Governor!"

A Republican from Harrison County WV, Goff, lost to Democrat Henry Mason Mathews in 1876. Goff ran again in 1888 and won by 106 votes in a disputed election that wasn't settled till 1890. He eventually lost the race to Democrat A. Brooks Fleming who took office in 1890. Black on pink 12" x 2-1/4' silk ribbon – only known example. Black on orange 9" x 2-1/2' silk ribbon – only known example.





Davis of West Virginia: 1904 and 1924

The State of West Virginia twice had a favorite son on the national ticket. Henry G. Davis was a self-made millionaire and former U.S. Senator from West Virginia when he was chosen as the Democratic Party's nominee for Vice President in 1904. Although the party hoped the wealthy Davis would bankroll the campaign, he knew that President Theodore Roosevelt was a sure winner and kept his wallet shut. As a side note, his brother was the Congressman Thomas B. Davis of West Virginia.

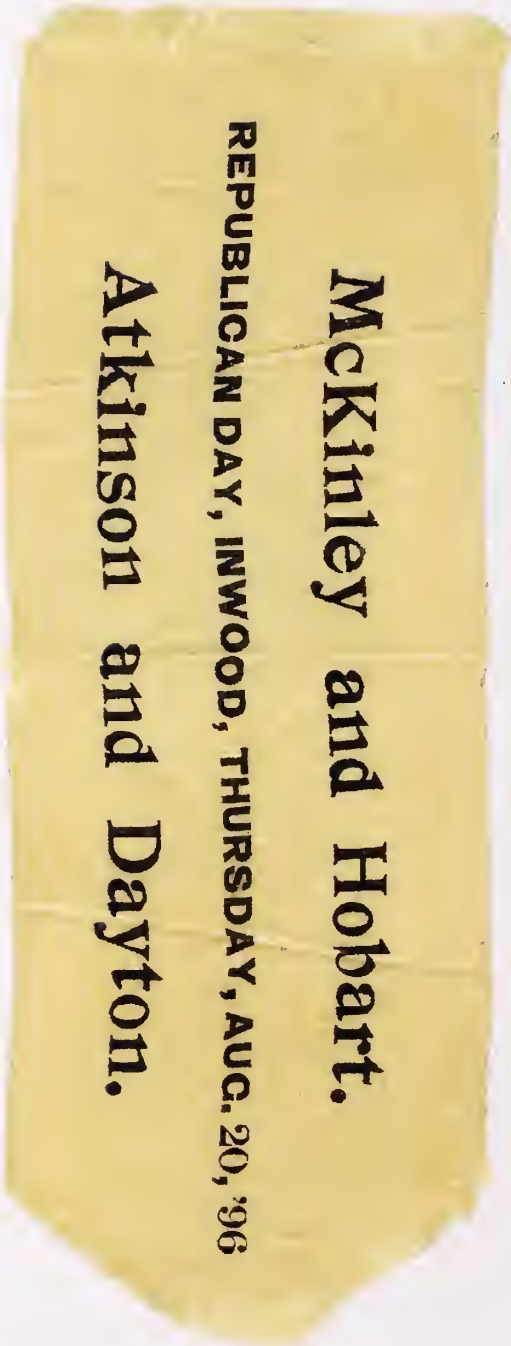
Two decades later, a deadlocked Democratic convention again turned to West Virginia after an exhausting 103 ballots, picking West Virginia Congressman John W. Davis for President. Like the earlier Davis, the second Davis went down in a landslide, losing to President Calvin Coolidge. Although John Davis wasn't related to Henry Davis, he was the uncle and adoptive father of Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State under Jimmy Carter.

2. Emanuel W. Wilson

"Cleveland & Wilson Democratic Club. Harpers Ferry W. Va."

The seventh governor of West Virginia, Wilson was elected as a Democrat in 1884 and served from 1885 to 1890. This coattail ribbon ties Wilson to the Democratic Presidential candidate Grover Cleveland who also ran and won in 1884. Gold on red 7-1/2" x 2-1/2' silk ribbon made by S.N. Meyer Badge Manufacturer Washington D.C. – only known example.





3. George W. Atkinson

"McKinley and Hobart. Republican Day, Inwood, Thursday, Aug. 20, '96 Atkinson and Dayton."

George A. Atkinson, a Republican and tenth governor of West Virginia, won in 1896 and served till 1901. This presidential one day event coattail ribbon promotes the 1896 Republican ticket of William McKinley – President, Garret A. Hobart – Vice President, Atkinson – Governor and Alston G. Dayton –US Congress. All candidates were elected. Black on white 7-1/2" x 2-1/2" silk ribbon – only known example.





4. Albert B. White



"A.B. White for Governor" and "My Choice for Governor Hon. A.B. White."

White, a Republican, was elected in 1900, the eleventh governor of West Virginia. He was the former newspaper publisher of the State Journal, a Republican daily in Parkersburg, WV. The A.B. White hanger, missing part of its ribbon, is the only known use of a hanger for a West Virginia campaign. The 1-1/4" celluloid pin-back, manufacturer unknown, is one of three varieties, this being the scarcest – only known example.

A 3" x 2- 1/8", approximate size as part of the ribbon is missing, hanger with real sepia photo attached to metal holder with metal name plate – only known example.

5. John H. Holt



"For Governor J.H. Holt."

John A. Holt was the Democratic candidate in the 1900 governor's race, losing to A.B. White by eighteen thousand votes. 1-1/4' sepia and cream celluloid pin-back manufactured by Indianapolis Photo Button Mfg. Company, Indianapolis, Indiana – only two known examples.



6. A.C. Scherr

"For Governor A.S. Scherr"

A.C. Scherr and Charles W. Swisher ran in the 1908 Republican primary bowing to William Glasscock after a deadlock between the candidates. Glasscock went on to defeat Democrat Louis Bennett of Lewis County in the general election. A 2" x 2" light blue tint and white sepia celluloid encased in a gold metal solid pin-back manufactured by The Baltimore Badge Company, Baltimore, Md. – only two known examples. Note that this exact cello exists without the gold metal encasing in a 1-3/4" size.

7. Louis Bennett

"For Bryan and Bennett President and Governor W.Va." and "For Louis Bennett Governor of W.Va. 1908."

Louis Bennett, a Democrat, ran for governor in 1908. These celluloid pinbacks were issued promoting Bennett and Presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan. Bennett lost to William Glasscock in the general election by 12,000 votes. All are 1-1/4" red/white/black celluloid pinbacks manufactured by the Whitehead and Hoag Co., Newark, N.J. – Two are uncommon items, Lewis County is the only known example.







8. Professor Thomas E. Hodges

"Prof. Thomas E. Hodges our candidate for Governor"

Professor Thomas E. Hodges, a Democrat, ran for governor in 1908. He was a professor of physics at West Virginia University. A 5-1/2" x 3-1/4" black/white postcard date stamped May 31, 1908 Morgantown, WV and date stamped received June 2, 1908 Williamson, WV – only known example.

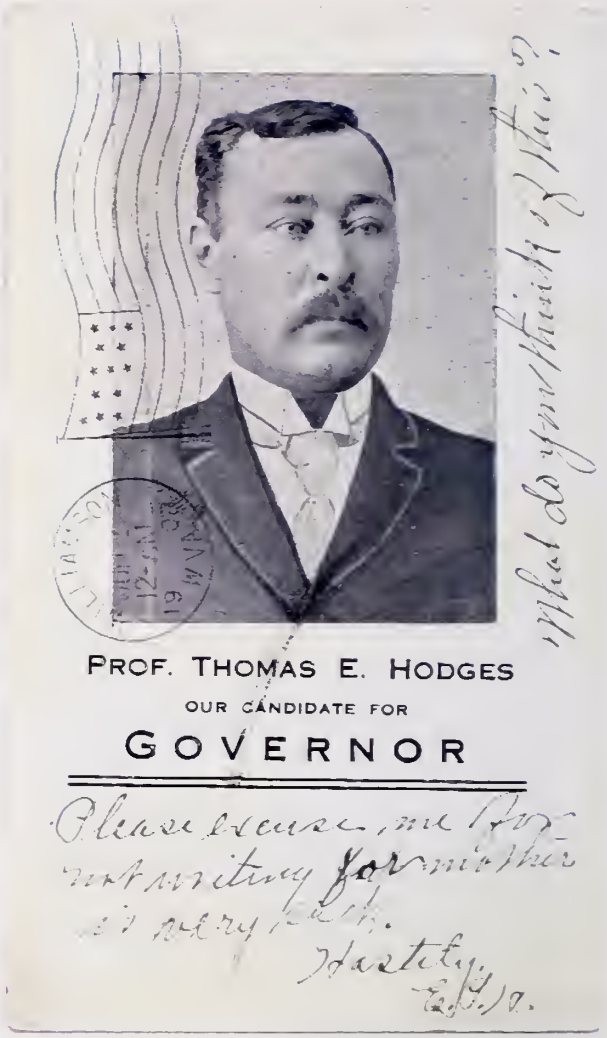


9. C.W. Dillon

"Hon. C.W. Dillon Candidate for Governor of West Virginia subject to Republican Primary, June 4, 1912," and " For Governor C.W. Dillon"

C.W. Dillon was a candidate for governor in the 1912 Republican primary losing to Henry Hatfield who went on to win the governors race over William R. Thompson. A 4" x 6" sepia/white postcard published by Tribune Printing Company, Charleston, WV date stamped May 22, 1912 Charleston, WV. Reverse has printed positions of candidate with request for vote – uncommon postcard. A 7/8" sepia celluloid pin-back manufactured by The Whitehead and Hoag Co, Newark, NJ. – Uncommon pinback.





West Virginia 1960

The 1960 West Virginia presidential primary was a major turning point in John F. Kennedy's quest for the nomination. He won a solid victory over Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey's supporters complained that the wealthy Kennedy had massively outspent his opponent, giving him an unfair advantage in the notoriously corrupt state. JFK used humor to deflect such criticism. Talking to reporters, he claimed, "I have just received the following telegram from my generous Daddy. It says, "Dear Jack: Don't buy a single vote more than is necessary. I'll be damned if I'm going to pay for a landslide."

10. John J. Cornwell

"Cornwell Club of Romney, W. Va. Just Taxation"

John Jacob Cornwell, statesman, lawyer, editor and writer, was elected governor of West Virginia in 1916. He served as governor from 1917 -1921 resulting in the only break in Republican control of the governor's office during the span from 1897 – 1933. He was the only Democrat elected on the state ticket in 1916. The Cornwell Club of Romney - a 1-1/4" sepia and cream celluloid fashioned after Cornwell's home town and manufactured by Baltimore Badge & Novelty Company, Baltimore, Md. – only know example. Also shown are four additional celluloid pin-backs for Cornwell all of which are 7/8" sepia's manufactured by Baltimore Badge & Novelty Company, Baltimore, Md. – all uncommon.

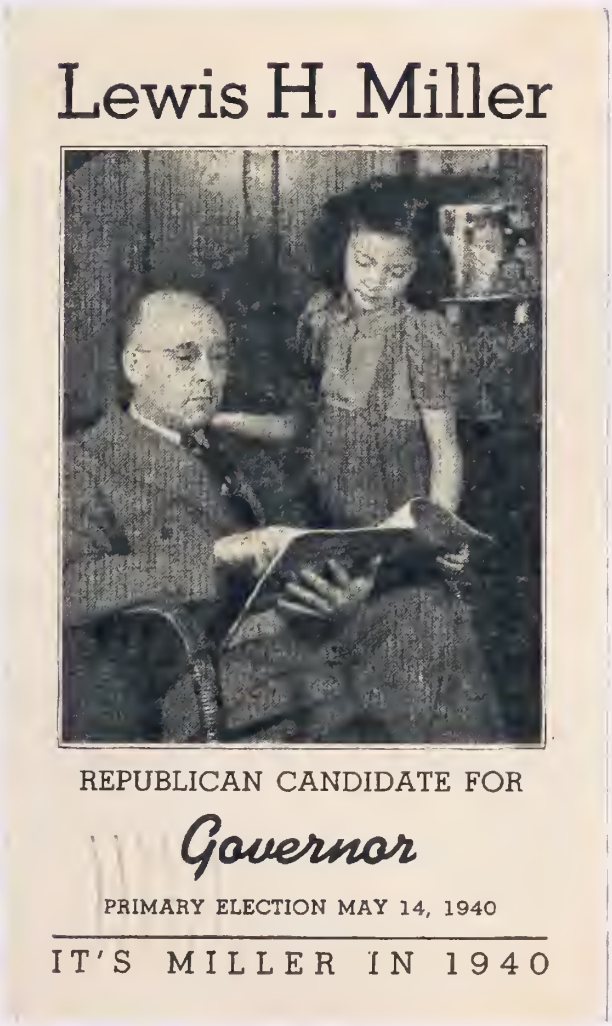














11. Lewis H. Miller

"Lewis H. Miller Republican for Governor Primary Election May 14, 1940 -- It's Miller In 1940", and "For Governor Lewis H. Miller".

Lewis H. Miller ran as a candidate for governor in the 1940 Republican primary and lost to Daniel Boone Dawson. Dawson went on to lose in the general election to Democrat Matthew Neely. A 5-1/2" x 3-1/4" black/white postcard date stamped Charleston, WV, April 8, 1940 with printed candidate positions on reverse – only known example. A 7/8" black/white celluloid pin-back manufactured by the St. Louis Button Co., St. Louis, Missouri – only known example.

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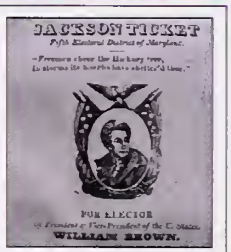
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Out of This World: Planetarians for Obama

By Michael Kelly



One of the fun aspects of collecting Political Americana is finding the stories behind items. On a recent visit to the excellent Longway Planetarium in my home town of Flint, Michigan, I was approached by Richard Walker, the staff Astronomer for the planetarium. He had seen exhibits of my political material at the nearby Sloan Museum and had a political button to donate to my collection.



Obama button shown enlarged.

It was a handsome little 7/8" celluloid bearing a star-filled sky over red and white stripes and the message "Planetarians for Obama."

Walker told me the story behind this button. During the second of 2008's three presidential debates, which was held on October 7 at Belmont University in Nashville and moderated by NBC's Tom Brokaw, GOP nominee John McCain attacked his opponent with the following statement: "While we were working to eliminate these pork barrel earmarks he (Senator Obama) voted for nearly $1 billion in pork barrel earmark projects, including $3 million for an overhead projector at a planetarium in Chicago, Illinois. My friends, do we need to spend that kind of money?"

Now, $3 million for an overhead projector sounds like a hell of a boondoggle, along the lines of NASA's $19 million toilet seat, but it turns out that the "overhead projector" under discussion was a long way from that old transparency projector we used to see at presentations in the days before Powerpoint.

Chicago's Adler Planetarium had requested federal support to replace the projector in its historic Sky Theater, the first planetarium theater in the Western Hemisphere. The Adler's Zeiss Mark VI projector – not an overhead projector – is the instrument that re-creates the night sky in a dome theater, the quintessential planetarium experience. The Adler's projector was nearly 40 years old at the time and was no longer supported with parts or service by the manufacturer. It would have been only the second planetarium projector in the Adler's 78 years of operation.

Planetarium administrators, supporters and scientists reacted with anger at what appeared to be a cynical political ploy by describing an elaborate piece of scientific equipment as an "overhead projector." At meetings of planetarium professionals, the "Planetarians for Obama" button appeared and was widely worn.

When the president of the Adler Planetarium finally unveiled the automobile-sized planetarium projection system, he quipped, "*That*'s an overhead projector."







Who Made These Buttons?

By John Conners



As a collector of both political and official button badges, I had wondered for years who had manufactured various celluloid button badges which I had or had seen. I noticed one union label in particular as it appears on most of the Ohio celluloid button chauffeur badges issued in the 1950s and 1960s. Barely seen on the curl is the APTC (Allied Printing Trades Council) bug having the city name New York and the digit "9" just to its right. Another union bug that is seen on many of the same buttons is that of the IPEU (International Photo-Engraver's Union) with the number 885 just to its right.



The APTC New York 9 bug proved to be the clue to who had manufactured all those buttons. Contacting the New York City Public Library I was able to obtain a copy of the "1944 Bulletin of Printing Offices Entitled To Use The Union Label Of The Allied Printing Trades Council", issued by the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York. I also obtained a copy of the "Official Directory of Union Label Printing Offices in Greater New, Vol. 47, No. 100, May, 1961". Notice how these booklets changed titles over the years but are the same listing.

In the 1944 booklet I found under Printing Establishments for Manhattan & Bronx, "9 – Benjamin Harris Co., Inc....229 Bowery". In the May 1961 booklet I found under Queens, "9 – Benjamin Harris Co., Inc....37-25 – 32nd St., Long Island City". Both booklets also list the working contracts of three local IPEU shops. The May, 1961, booklet, under Commercial Shops lists, "885 P.E. Service Corp.....150 Greene St."

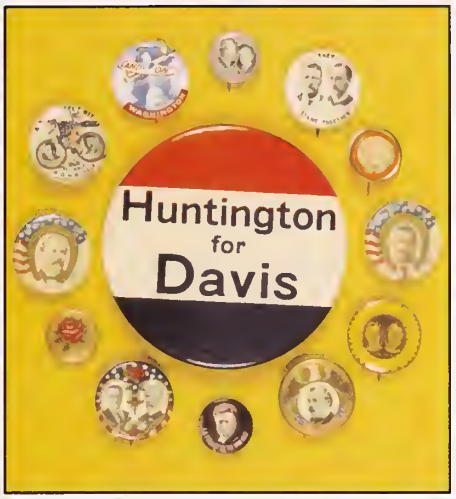


I also have a neat little button having a blue background, white elephant and red letters reading OHIO. I had no idea when it was given out or for what purpose. Recently while going through my late father's belongings, I came across his program for the 1956 Ohio State Republican Convention program, Delegate's ribbon and official Delegate's credentials. The logo on the convention program is this button. By now it was easy to determine who had made the button back in 1956, because it bears the APTC New York 9 bug and the IPEU 885 bug. The IPEU union employees of Benjamin Harris Co. Inc. had done the photo engraving and the APTC union employees did the printing and assembling of the buttons. Also on this button, on the reverse, can be seen imprinted into the round tin base of the button the design of Sheet Metal Workers Union Local 137 whose union members would have made the metal bases for these buttons. Unlike APTC and IPEU union bugs, SMWU bugs identify the local only, not a specific company with which the local has a contract. Local 137 is still in business at Long Island City, New York, and the union now is titled the Sheet Metal Workers International Association (SMWIA). You can locate their union locals at: www.smwia.org notice down the left side the words "Look For The Union Label". Click on the blue and yellow labels just below. On the next page scroll down to and click on: "Click Here To Use Our Locals Directory". Lastly, click on the state or province of your choice. On a historical note, the Sheet Metal Workers Union was Organized January 25, 1888, in Toledo, Ohio. However, the website shows no SMWIA local for Toledo in 2003.

If any APIC members know of any other APTC Union Label ID booklets, I would like to obtain copies of them or obtain them if possible. I am especially looking to find out what printing company used APTC Cleveland union bug # 38. The Cleveland APTC union office didn't keep records of closed shops. Anyone interested in learning the identifications of current APTC union bugs can visit: www.unionlabel.org and check them out. Look for "Who We Are" and click on "products and services," now look for "Union Printers" and click on it, next click on "International Allied Printing Trades Council List of Allied Label Shops", next look for "SHOPS" at the left of the second from the top blue border, and "Allied Label: Shop Search (by state)". Some of these printing companies have been in business for decades.

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A complete up-to-date list of all convention details is posted on the APIC website. Follow these links: www.apic.us, then "**News and Events**", then "**APIC National Convention**".

Schedule of Events Note: ** indicates that you should check the APIC web site actual times	Sun 8/1	Mon 8/2	Tue 8/3	Wed 8/4	Thu 8/5	Fri 8/6	Sat 8/7	Sun 8/8
Room Hopping (throughout the day and evening)	X	X	X	X				
Sight Seeing and Tours **	X	X	X					
Registration and Information **			X	X	X	X	X	
History Quiz Night at the Founding Fathers Pub (in the evening)			X					
Kick-Off Reception at 4:30pm until 7:30pm				X				
Exhibit Setup **				X	X			
Theodore Roosevelt Welcome Event (early morning wakeup TV program)					X			
Dealer Setup (8am to 9am)					X			
Convention (Bourse) Opens **					X	X	X	
Exhibits Open **					X	X	X	
Auction Preview with Taste of Buffalo Dinner (5:30pm to 7pm)					X			
Members Auction (7pm until end)					X			
Awards Breakfast (with Theodore Roosevelt) at 8am to 10am						X		
Seminars and Chapter Meetings (10:15am to noon)						X		
Historic Bus Tour including TR Inaugural Site (4:30pm to 7:30pm)						X		
Presidential Forum (10am to 11am)							X	
Niagara Falls Trip and Maid of the Mist with dinner (4pm to 10pm)							X	
Forest Lawn Cemetery Tour (to be announced)								X
BBQ & Open House at O'Neil's in Corfu, NY (starts at noon)								X